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STATE OF THE WORLD

AN INSIDE REPORT ON INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS—ANALYSES AND INTERPRETATION OF WORLD POLITICAL, MILITARY, SOCIO-ECONOMIC MOVES

Federal Plans And Spy Scares For Germany

THE event of greatest long-range significance in the last month was announcement in London of the six-power decision to rebuild Western Germany as a federal state. The proposal was worked out in one of the cold war's longest drawn-out battles. It went on for 104 days, behind the closed doors of what once was the India Office. There representatives of the US, UK, France and Benelux charted a political and economic union for Germany's three western zones.

Mr. Bevin announced his approval even before the conference ended. Washington did not hesitate. Neither did Brussels, the Hague or Luxembourg. But the note for which Ernest Bevin waited most anxiously, that from Paris, did not arrive. The Foreign Secretary went home to rest his heart which bothers him when he is restive or annoyed.

The Schuman Cabinet's Great Gamble

PARIS. In the French capital, British Ambassador Sir Oliver Harvey waited up long past midnight to gather details of Gallic reaction before entrusting the discouraging data to the code clerks.

It was evident that the London agreement was unpopular with the average Frenchman. It was obvious that de Gaulle and the Communists would make the most of it.

The Cabinet was split, not merely on this issue. Only the day before, Quai d'Orsay had to release a half-hearted denial that France had made representation in Washington demanding that the cold war be stopped, or—if it could not be stopped that military guarantees be extended to France forthwith.

Another rumor insisted that the French Government had told Washington and London "it would not associate itself with any diplomatic action which might prejudice its relations with the USSR."

De Gaulle moved to the attack by reminding France that 49 per cent of the by-elections had gone in his favor. He assured the percentage he needed for an absolute majority that, in his hands, France's "primary position of security" would not be abandoned. "Vote for de Gaulle and keep the Reich prostrate," was one of the battle cries. "France First," another.

What's Behind the 'Trouble' In Divided Berlin

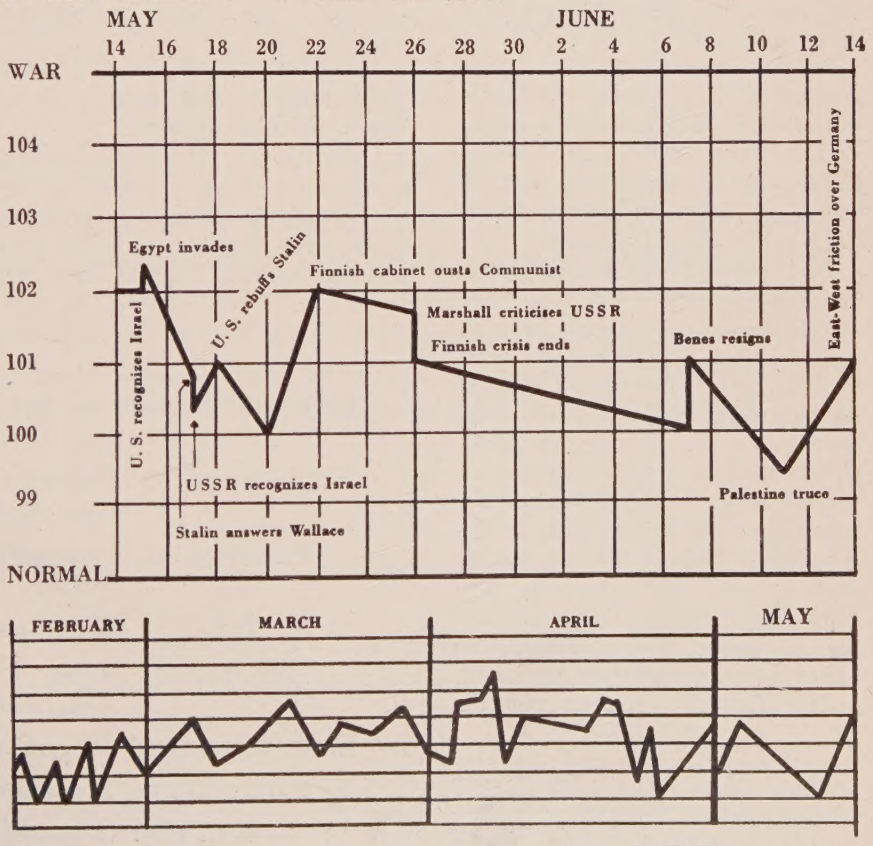
BERLIN. Virtually on the day a number of bedraggled SS physicians were hanged in Landsberg Prison for the torture-murder of millions of victims, Gen. Sir Brian Robertson, commander of the British zone, told the Germans that they are again regarded as "Christians and civilized people" by the officials of Britain.

The Robertsonian re-assurance was one way of pleasing the Germans. In the Russian and French zones they were promised pay raises and increased rations.

It is now taken for granted that America and Britain are determined to stay in Berlin—whatever the cost. Many Berliners never doubted this and refused to join in the charges that the Anglo-Americans showed "deplorable weakness" in their reactions to Russian provocation. The truth is quite the opposite.

Gen. Lucius Clay, in particular, has proved the ideal man for the toughest assignment of America's post-war diplomacy. He is firm without the haughtiness and easy exasperation of the traditional conqueror. He dislikes what he calls Russian "chicanerie" as much as any swearing sergeant in his command. But he is objective.

FEVER CHART OF WORLD TENSION



GOING DOWN. In line with the forecast made two months ago by UNW, tension eased between May 15 and June 15. Neither war in the Holy Land, friction in Berlin, Communists in Finland nor Benes' resignation in Czechoslovakia could rouse a temperature.

In June, the Russians again showed signs of cutting down on Anglo-American traffic to Berlin across the Russian-controlled environs. In the US this is represented as intolerable Soviet impertinence. But Berliners take another view. And their story may go far to explain Clay's apparent equanimity.

The explanation is, quite simply, that the Russians are having a spy scare. Late in March their MVD in Karlshorst (Marshal Sokolovsky's GHQ outside Berlin) discovered about 200 "Allied spies" converging on a kind of "Oak Ridge" the Soviets maintain somewhere in Poland. There are said to be 500 German scientists working there, most of them guided missiles experts.

Sokolovsky closed traffic across Russian territory around Berlin and extended the MVD dragnet. Then he flew to Moscow to report to Stalin who approved the measures taken and ordered stricter ones.

Headlines on the Russian moves were bellicose. But General Clay did not lose his head. When the Berlin correspondents' stories began to drip vitriol, he called them in and threatened censorship unless they put their stories into focus.

In the meantime, the Soviet-licensed ADN news agency of Berlin circulated a long confession signed by a German writer named Dieter Friede, incriminating British and US intelligence agents and scores of Germans as his alleged partners.

Tass released still another yarn, this one involving a Col. J. D. Tassoyev who, the news agency averred, was abducted by the British secret service, flown to London in Marshal Montgomery's private plane, kept captive in a West Kensington apartment leased to British intelligence.

The Foreign Office spokesman dismised the *Tass* exposé with a condescending smile: "We are not so silly as that." But when the New York *Times*' Clifton Daniel checked the incredible Soviet charges, he found at least part of them confirmed.

The Tassoyev incident was the second fiasco of British Intelligence within five months. The first involved the so-called Protocol M, said to be a "Communist blueprint for revolution in Western Germany," but revealed as a clumsy forgery.

Rumors of Revolt Via Whitehall

BAGDAD. A report from London to the New York *Herald Tribune*, painted a lurid picture of Communist infiltration into Iraq. John Kimche, a recognized British authority on the Near East, writing directly from Bagdad rather than Whitehall, provided a different picture of conditions.

"There is some Communist activity in Bagdad and a little more in the north, but there is no real party and certainly no movement," he reports. "There is, if anything, more of an organized movement on the right."

The pro-Nazi Mahdi Kubba, chief wire-puller of the 1941 Rashid Ali revolt against the Allies, is the local leader of the Istaqlal, the strongest Iraqi political party. Sadiq Shenshal, Rashid Ali's Minister of Propaganda, is the Istaqlal propaganda chief.

$300 Million American For Cold-War Wheat

WASHINGTON. Whitehall's failure to view the Iraqi situation in its proper light, is causing apprehension in the State Department which gets accurate political reports from the spot. They are all signed "Georg Wadsworth"—US Ambassador.

According to Wadsworth, Iraq wil not be able to escape chaos withou outside aid; and the British are in capable of providing it. The US alon could advance a 300 million dolla loan proposed by Wadsworth, to tur Iraq into one of the world's top whea growing countries, thus ending it chronic depression.

The US Government may yet de cide against a loan, or curtail it con siderably. Whatever happens, it is n longer doubted or denied, either i Washington or in Bagdad, that Amer ica has a strong interest in Iraq. substantial American stake there, evi denced by a large loan and an agri cultural mission, may yet even pus Britain altogether out of the oil-ric country.

American Interest In the Suez Canal

CAIRO. Growing American interes in the Middle East is reflected also i Cairo, Port Tewfik, and Paris amon officials of the Suez Canal Company According to them, the US may ac quire a sizeable chunk of the com pany's 652,932 shares of which th British Government now holds 295, 026, valued at $2½ billion.

The election of S. Pinkney Tuck until recently US Ambassador t Egypt, to the Canal's board of di rectors lent weight to the rumors The best-informed source in Cair maintains that a deal has alread been consummated between Ameri can interests represented by M Tuck and the Egyptian Treasury.

15-Second Report on the STATE OF THE WORLD

ECONOMICALLY: *Threatening clouds rolling up in the East (see page 54);*

POLITICALLY: *Generally less cloudy, promise of clearing in Holy Land area;*

MORALLY: *Low, little change;*

MILITARILY: *Arms races—conventional, atomic, bacteriological and gas—unchecked;*

EDUCATIONALLY: *No change;*

SPIRITUALLY: *A vacuum;*

THE UN: *A faithful reflection of the state of the world: heartened by truce in Palestine and talk of peacemaking elsewhere.*

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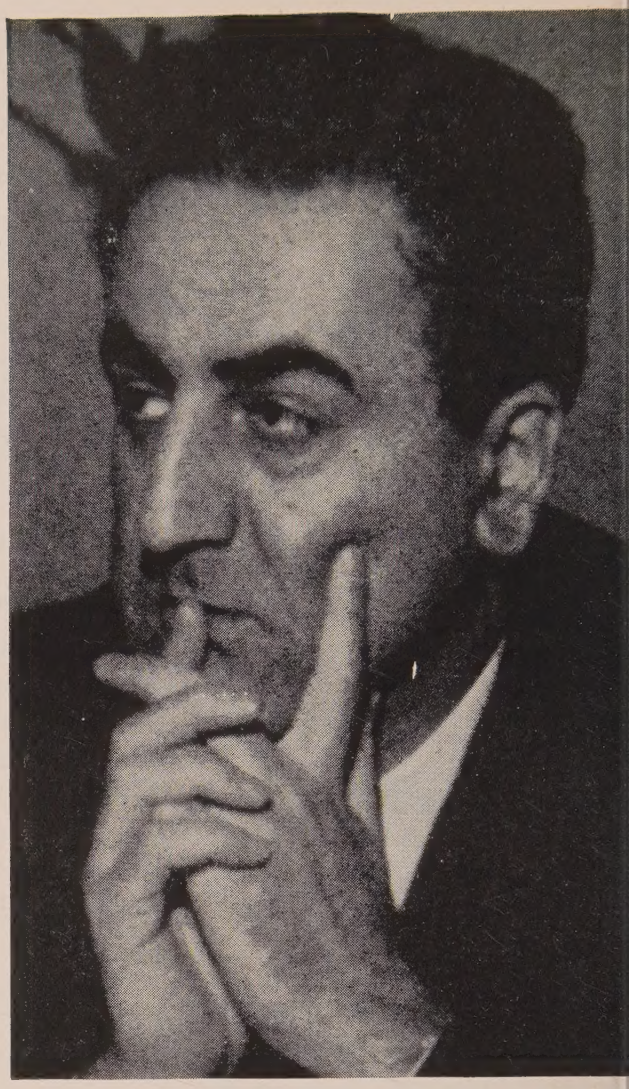
BY NANCY H. MacLENNAN

MALIK talks for the record



MALIK THE PHILOSOPHER PONDERS A QUESTION

Lebanon's Harvard-trained chief delegate, chairman of the ECOSOC, speaks out—but not bluntly—on world problems

On July 19 the agency which has been called "the real hope of the UN"—the Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC)—begins its seventh session in Geneva, Switzerland. Herewith the Council's new president, Dr. Charles A. Malik of Lebanon, grants UN WORLD an exclusive "preview" of the session. Dr. Malik is Lebanon's Minister to the US and delegate to the UN. He was formerly head of the philosophy department in the American University at Beirut.

Dark-haired, stocky, deliberate and precise in his speech, Dr. Malik is, as befits an American U. professor, a Christian whose education was obtained mainly at Beirut and Harvard. But he cannot be arbitrarily labeled pro-American, as his answers to the following questions will—on analysis—reveal.

1 *What major issues are coming up before the next session of ECOSOC?*

"Of the 50 problems on the agenda, I rank four as most important: (1) Writing the Declaration and Covenant of Human Rights; (2) The report on the Council's recent Freedom of Information Conference in Geneva; (3) The charges of slave labor brought by the American Federation of Labor against the Russian occupation authorities in Germany and Austria; (4) The question of establishing a United Nations Economic Commission for the Middle East.

2 *What are the basic differences between the US and the USSR in the field of human rights and economics?*

"Five 'ultimate' issues divide the United States and the Soviet Union: (1) The issue of the individual against the state—in other words, freedom of the soul versus organized society; (2) The issue of employer's rights versus exclusive trade-union rights; (3) The issue of free enterprise or state control (and every economic problem before the Council ha this issue at its core); (4) The issu of international interdependence an economic co-operation versus nationa economic sovereignty (the Russian are extreme believers in nationa sovereignty, but the outside worl has a freer concept of co-operation) (5) The issue of a complex society made up of capitalists, entrepreneurs a middle class and a working class versus a simple society comprisin solely the working class."

3 *Is economic and social co-operation among the United Nation genuinely better and more hopeful than co-operation on the politica level? And, if so, why?*

"Frankly, ECOSOC is oppressed b the shadow of political distrust cas so strongly by the UN Securit Council. Though international co operation in ECOSOC falls far sho

of the ideal, still, it has outdistanced the Security Council for three simple reasons: (1) In ECOSOC the Big Five have no veto; (2) ECOSOC deals in a relatively technical, non-controversial field of human behavior (such as narcotics control, health promotion, postal service); (3) ECOSOC is concerned more with building than repairing peace."

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4 *What is the current economic outlook for the Middle East?*

"The outlook would be unbounded were it not for three deterrents: (1) The Palestine issue, which beclouds everything; (2) The competitive interests of the imperialistic powers in Middle East affairs; (3) The danger of international war.

"The Middle East is one of the world's major underdeveloped areas. Its strategic position, at the crossroads of three continents, and its human importance — its potential population is 500,000,000 — make it a region where capital really can perform miracles."

5 *What are the actual achievements of the ECOSOC?*

"In my opinion, the Council's achievements fall into 10 classes.

1. The sheer miracle of organization whereby, in two years, an infinitely varied, multimillion-dollar program of human welfare has been inaugurated by the Council.
2. The Council's ever-growing bookshelf of economic and social studies.
3. The report on world economic trends written by the Secretariat at the Council's request. This will be only the first in a historic series.
4. The Council's co-ordination, to a degree, of the work of the several specialized agencies of the UN, from UNESCO to FAO.
5. The Council's sponsorship of international conferences (out of which have come such intergovernmental agencies as the World Health Organization and the International Trade Organization), and its direct creation of the IRO.
6. The Council's sponsorship of such world-wide field projects as social-service seminars, fellowships and the UN Appeal for Children.
7. The clarification of world economic and social issues in the course of the Council's debates.
8. The writing of the Declaration and Covenant of Human Rights, coupled with a convention against the crime of genocide.
9. Creation of regional economic-development commissions, notably the one for Europe.
10. The 164 resolutions passed by the Council to date, all forming a kind of nuclear pattern in the future development of international law."

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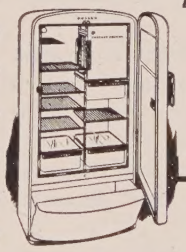

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Corroboree In Technicolor

Fifteen explorers are safely back in civilization after having been stranded on a wilderness island off the coast of Arnhem Land, Australia. Members of an American-Australian photographic expedition, they were rescued by plane after their ship sank in a storm. The result of their trip—a technicolor movie of an aboriginal native dance, called a corroboree—will be shown to American school children this year.

The aboriginal Australian, a coppery or chocolate-colored Caucasian, is one of the most baffling puzzles of anthropology. So primitive he never developed the bow and arrow, he yet is adept with the boomerang, a weapon unknown elsewhere except among a remnant of primitive Dravidians in southern India. Sustaining a matriarchal social system, nevertheless his womenfolk must in some tribes submit to any willing male on her wedding night, and may thereafter be lent or even given away outright by her mate.

There are probably not more than 50,000 full-blood aborigines left in Australia today, one-fourth as many as a century ago. For the most part they abjure civilization and roam the interior deserts as their ancestors did.

Main dishes on their al fresco menu are crocodile and turtle eggs, honey, ants, caterpillars and fish, the meat of kangaroos, snakes and birds—including the emu.

The Accent Lingers

Even though the British have moved out of India, their language will stay on for five years more in the classrooms of Indian universities. English will be also a compulsory subject in the curricula. A government-appointed committee is recommending that philologists and scientists prepare a common scientific terminology for India's nine major tongues.

50,000,000 Good Deeds

A battalion of five Norwegian doctors and eleven nurses is touring Polish villages, vaccinating all children under 18 with BCG vaccine. They are showing the way for the joint Scandinavian anti-TB program in southern and middle Europe financed by the UN Children's Emergency Fund ($2,000,000) and by the European Relief Organization of Norway ($300,000).

It is expected that the whole vaccination project will take at least 18 months during which five teams of doctors and nurses will inoculate 50,000,000 children in 11 European countries.

The People Sing

Ever since mankind's savage childhood, people have made music—with drums, horns, taut, vibrating strings. And it is rationally assumed that primitive, blood-rousing rhythms evoked in the music of unsophisticated peoples are a part of the cultural past of all.

Willing to risk a modest buck on this anthropological hypothesis, Disc, a New York recording company is putting out five albums of such music. The sources are Haiti, the Central East and USSR (Turkish-Armenia, Azerbaijan, Bukhar, Georgia and the Uzbek regions), Ethiopia, and the US (Winnebago, Sioux, Zuni and Acoma Indians).

The music was recorded on location under the direction of Harold Courlander, of the US State Department, author and folklorist. Other albums already selected for Disc's ethnic series are from Equatorial Africa, Central America, Tibet, China, Japan and Korea.

Forest Neo-Primeval

Two of the world's rarest wild animals are the European herbivores, bison and tarpan. Both are being brought back from the verge of extinction by the Polish government which has established the great forest of Bialowieza as a preserve. Once the hunting park of Polish kings and Russian czars, the 10,000-acre Bialowieza, about 120 miles northeast of Warsaw, is now a national park.

Three years ago only 30 of Poland's rare European bisons were left, World War I, World War II and Marshal Goering, the huntsman, having been rather rough on them. Now they have a special section of the forest reserved especially for them and a blessed event in a bison family is spied upon by eager custodians and joyfully reported in Polish newspapers.

The tarpan is the great-great-great etc. grandson of the primordial European-Asiatic wild ass-like horse, crossed many, many generations back, with the domestic strain. The typical tarpan has a short, spiky mane, a greyish coat, black streaked legs and neck. There is now a band of about 24 of the once almost-extinct tarpans in the Bialowieza forest.

M.A.'s for Malaya

The new university of Malaya will probably open its doors this fall and grant its first degrees next June. The university was created on recommendation of a commission of colonial officials, Malayans and Chinese, appointed by the British Government. It will be a full university, merging the existing Raffles College and King Edward VII College of Medicine, in Singapore.

The new Malayan university will have a student body of 1,000 open to all able young men and women, regardless of race or religion. Classes will be taught in English, but there will be departments of Malay, Chinese and Tamil and faculties of arts, science and medicine.

Dutch Fledglings

KLM Royal Dutch Airlines is offering a five-year training course in civil aviation to 16-year-old Dutch boys for $120 cash investment. The tuition fee will be levied against all aspiring cadets who are accepted. For it they will get one year's training at a technical school in Wasse-

naar. Those who pass will get further flight training with the Royal Netherlands Air Force, 18 months more at the Government Flight Training School and will graduate as full-fledged KLM pilots at 21.

Mr. Gallup in Sweden

Swedish housewives polled by the Gallup Institute recently told some home truths about their mates. Twenty per cent reported, for example, that their husbands lend a hand regularly with the dishes and other household tasks, including caring for the children. Fifty per cent got credit for helping around the house "occasionally." Thirty per cent were bluntly described as taking no interest in home or children.

The three categories add up neatly to 100 per cent. None of the Swedish housewives interrogated chose to hide behind Dr. Gallup's convenient "undecided" label.

Additional informative data on family life in Sweden: City husbands are handier helpmates than rural. But country-bred children, boys and girls alike, are much more helpful around the house than city kids.

Whether country boys get fed up with scullery chores or, on reaching man's estate, move to the cities there to become helpful husbands, Dr. Gallup does not state.

Up-To-Date Fossils

While Dr. Gallup's Swedish colleagues study their own modern, cooperative minded, technologically advanced compatriots, a group of Swedish scientists are getting ready to sail for New Guinea. There in the eastern (Dutch) section of the island, they will study animal and bird life among headhunting, stone age Papuans who have never yet seen white men.

The isolated savages of Dutch New Guinea owe their unspoiled state to high, steep, rain-drenched mountains which cut them off from the sea. They are famous for their gardens, terracing and landscaping, notorious for their penchant for bashing skulls with smoothly polished stone battle clubs.

A few of these tall, truculent men got to know whites for a few weeks when WAC Cpl. Margaret Hastings and two companions, survivors of a plane crash, lived among them until rescued by air. The expedition is headed by Dr. Sten Bergman, who has previously explored Kamchatka, the Kuriles and Korea.

VERTICAL CLAY

THE GOAT BARN. A Chinese farmer (beside post at left) lifts a kid into the pen before its cave home. Behind him, two men rest in front of the dark slot that marks his own dwelling. For generations, men and animals alike have lived in China's perpendicular loess clay cliffs which, eroding, color the Yellow River and the Yellow Sea.

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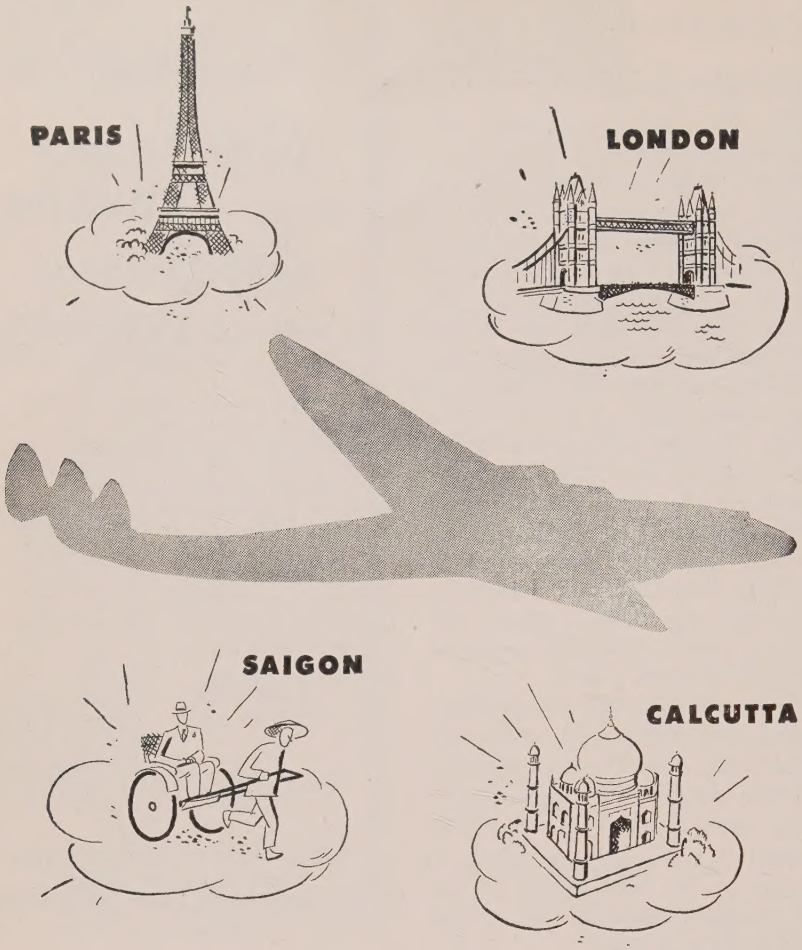

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Letters

TO THE EDITOR

Short—Not Sweet

Your "15-second Report on the State of the World," is outstanding. . . . Please accept my congratulations on the courageous candor with which you publish news about UN progress. News of this type is not plentiful enough in this section of the United States to expand an historically sectional agrarian economic viewpoint to an economically balanced worldwide viewpoint that, you presumably agree, is absolutely necessary to the accomplishment of an active world peace.

FRANK W. ROBERTSON
Kansas City, Missouri

*A Memo FYI**

One serious flaw has been permitted by UNITED NATIONS WORLD editors to appear with increasingly irksome frequency in an otherwise excellent magazine—the tendency to follow American hucksters' ridiculous endeavor to express everything in initials.

I sincerely hope that UNW will keep up its excellent work, so that groups like UWF and SDA and UNESCO can continue their efforts to prevent clashes between the US and the USSR over such matters as UNRRA and the ERP which replaces it; perhaps we can thus prevent WW-III and peace on earth will remove the need for more alphabetized committees!

FRED MORATH
Boulder, Colorado

*FYI, among journalists and government people with writer's-cramp fright, means "for your information."

A Name's a Name Nonetheless

I believe you are doing our country a great service through UNW. However I think a little frivolity in its pages might liven things up a bit. Therefore I am sending you a puzzle made of mixed up names of important people in the international picture:

1. Begandenvr
2. Kesthor
3. Nadocog
4. Hancig
5. Tipero
6. Teltea
7. Fanfohm
8. Suntia
9. Tetav
10. Loomvot
11. Resagip
12. Almsharl

(Correctly rearranged names at bottom of page.)

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Inside Report

THIS DUTCH GIRL ON A HAY CART SYMBOLIZES THE MOOD OF EUROPE—SUMMER, 1943

There is time to play and food to eat—There is joy in the air and babies in the womb of Europe again

on Europe

THE REBIRTH OF HOPE

BY LOUIS DOLIVET
International Editor

This report is one of a series in which from time to time, UN WORLD essays to present an analysis of the integrated political, social and economic aspects of a nation or a culture. It is in direct sequence with INSIDE REPORT ON EUROPE (July, 1947) and NO REVOLUTION IN ITALY (November, 1947).

In the first of these, Mr. Dolivet outlined the problems facing a fearful, underfed, poorly sheltered populace and suggested the manner in which they could be solved: by courage, belt-tightening, hard work and Marshall-Plan aid. In the second, he flatly contradicted the American—and much of the world—press by predicting accurately events which have since transpired in Italy. The same depth of perception and accuracy of analysis which characterized his previous reports lend particular significance to that which follows.

IN THIS summer of 1948, the average Western European is breathing more easily. For the first time since the let-down after liberation, he walks with his head a little higher.

Except in England, food is everywhere more abundant than for years, although often at high prices. Clothing and shoes are available. Housing is still scarce, but homes are being built.

In France, economists are convinced—provided no major international catastrophe occurs, and the Marshall Plan works well—complete recovery will come by 1952. By 1954, two of them assured me, "France will have a better standard of living than the United States—not in quantity, but in quality."

The Belgians are more optimistic than the French. They anticipate relative abundance by 1950.

The British, with their usual caution, do not foresee prewar abundance before 1955, even under the most favorable circumstances.

The wave of optimism is most palpable in Italy, where the recent electoral triumph of the non-Communist parties and the increasing interest of the US in the fate of Italy have resulted in an almost invincible lightness of mood, despite the problems that country still faces.

The main reason, however, for the unmistakable gleam of hope to be seen in the eyes of Europeans since May of this year, is not so much economic but political. They see that the international crisis has been relaxed. They believe the danger of war for 1948 has been definitely eliminated. They do worry—but with no feeling of immediacy—about the spring of 1949.

Winning one year for peace means much to Europeans—who have so often been visited by war. After surviving the terror and the misery of Nazi occupation or attack, they are interested mainly in the present. Now they taste, and savor, life. Literature, the theater, painting and sculpture are flourishing. Millions of people leave the cities every weekend for the mountains, lakes and seashore. They picnic late into the night, singing and gay, in the fields, on the fringes of the forest—anywhere that trees grow or streams run.

The faces of men and women in the streets are no longer tense. Last year I noticed the look of resigned worry which grownups gave the baby in a passing perambulator. This year there are smiles for the perambulators. Even more expressive of new hope and confidence, are the numbers of pregnant women one sees everywhere in Western Europe this year.

The sense of emergency, of impending major changes, the danger of civil war—which was so prevalent a year ago—has largely disappeared. Political life is normal. There is again the non-violent flow of varying ideas. The political parties are again courting the voters in the old traditional way.

Business is more normal, too. Not for many years have investors been so confident. Europe is beautiful this year. Its people appear more kindly and hospitable, as American visitors discover each day.

The European Attitude Toward Federation

In the first half of May, European political leaders watched the Hague where, under the leadership of Winston Churchill, a convention advocated the establishment of a Federal Union of Europe.

In the second half, popular imagination was powerfully stirred by the Soviet peace offensive.

The Hague Convention somehow fell short of creating real enthusiasm. This may have been partly due to the fact that Conservatives were much in the forefront—particularly Mr.

Churchill who played the dominant role; it may have been partly due to a feeling that the program was still far from becoming a living reality to the average European.

In any case, even the presence of men like former Prime Minister and prominent French Socialist leader Paul Ramadier as Chairman of its Political Committee, and of a considerable number of British Laborites was not sufficient to rouse the support of workers. The extreme left-wing intelligentsia, of course, greeted and treated the convention throughout with icy hostility.

All the Europeans whom this writer interviewed, felt that while a European Federation is desirable and historically necessary, the major problem remains the relationship with the US and the USSR.

How the People Feel About America

For the US, Europeans feel an admiration and gratitude mixed with envy, distrust and fear.

The average European is amazed by the technical achievements of the US, its vast and systematic output of all that which Europe needs so sorely. And there is a real, warm gratitude —not only for the official help given by the Government and Congress of the US—but for the millions of packages sent by private citizens. The latter have created a friendly relationship between peoples, a feeling of warmth and sympathy, whose political implications for the US cannot be overestimated.

In European popular imagination, America is a country of factories, working day and night; a land where efficiency is the only virtue and whose inhabitants are extremely shrewd and businesslike but also very generous.

The US and Americans are the favorite topics in the bistros of Paris. A critic will sneer, "After all, the Americans have become rich in every war; they're only sending us crumbs." Last year he might have gone unchallenged. This year there are defenders of the US. One retorts, "What more do you expect the Americans to do?" And another adds, "I wonder whether we'd do as much for them, if we were in their shoes."

But even in the voices of those who defend the US, there is envy for a country which seems to have so much, while they have so little. A farmer grumbled, "If only I had the equipment the Americans have—I'd show them what our soil can produce."

Distrust of America arises from the motives ascribed to American foreign policy. Communist emphasis on "America's imperialist and expansionist tendencies" has played its part, of course. But among those who reject Communist propaganda, many simply assume that the most powerful country on earth will, in the normal course of things, expand. And they often assume that the colonies of European countries may be the first victims of the new giant. Others are convinced that the nature and intensity of its conflict with the Soviet Union will sooner or later force the US to control new territories directly or indirectly.

Still others are afraid that American economic expansion might lead to permanent impoverishment of Europe by capturing world markets and closing them to those nations which are at present supported by the US.

American aid to Greece and Turkey, the inclusion of Portugal into the Marshall Plan, and the maintenance and development of economic relations with Franco Spain, leave the average European — and especially the socialist and liberal — in a state of confusion.

He views the aid to the present regimes in these countries as aiming at either the perpetuation of military and/or one-party dictatorships — as in Portugal and Turkey — or t maintenance in power of a reactio ary government in Greece. He do not quite follow the American co clusion that aid to these regimes an unavoidable necessity in the co text of the cold war.

He suspects the American moti and feels frustrated, for the persi ence of these anti-democratic regim makes it increasingly difficult for t democratic forces of Europe to sta off the recurrent accusations of co nivance with reaction leveled Americans by the Communists.

What fear there is of the US mainly fear of war. Many Europea are convinced that, whatever the ou come of a new war, Western Euro will be occupied and reoccupied, a ultimately destroyed by atomic a other weapons of modern warfare. young French intellectual conclud a discussion about world affairs wi the following remark, "The only u certainty I have about the outcom of the war—if we survive at all— whether we shall be reduced to t status of the Uzbekistan Republic that of Puerto Rico."

Always the fear of being expen ables in an American war colors t warmth the Europeans feel f America. Perhaps the best summa was made by a high European offici who is often at Lake Success. "A the good—and also the bad—ne comes from the United States."

How Russia Lost Its Leading Role in Europe

Concerning the USSR, Europe public opinion has undergone a m mentous change. In 1945, the Sovi won absolute leadership in Euro

Until 1944, Soviet armies were t only effective anti-Nazi military uni with the exception of the Allied forces in all Europe. The ama ing defensive strength of the Russi forces, the solidity of the Russi regime, Russia's terrific offensiv and the importance of Communi in the Resistance movements—desp their lateness in joining—all favor the Soviet Union.

At the end of the war Europea were ready, by and large, to world leadership divided equally tween the US and USSR. Many wou even have agreed to the Soviets' ha ing the major role.

The Soviet Union could have h a decisive influence on reshapi Europe's future—if she had form

Europeans are proud of having beaten both Communism and Rightism with ballots, not bullets or castor oil

lated an over-all foreign policy—if she had not based her dealings with European countries too much on the Communist parties.

Informed Europeans feel that the Soviets underestimated how ready and willing even non-Communist forces were at the war's end to take part in an over-all European program inspired by Moscow. These observers believe the Soviets overestimated the strength of the Communist parties, or at least did not take a sufficiently long-range view of the necessary reorientation of the political forces after the first few months of confusion in the early days of victory.

In any event, the Soviets, wittingly or unwittingly, tied the whole prestige of the Soviet Union to the Communist parties. Inevitably, when the fortunes of the national Communist parties declined, the prestige of Russia dropped and the Soviet Union suffered a serious setback.

The Soviet Union was further, and grievously weakened by her inability to provide important industrial products and by her inability or unwillingness to export the maximum of foods and fibers to the rest of Europe.

Lack of imagination and lack of flexibility in international affairs, insistence on the lone wolf role at world conferences, cool-to-bitter relations between Communist and other parties —particularly socialist parties—all have further weakened the Soviet position.

In these ways the sources of Russian influence—aura of glory won by brilliant military feats—sympathy for and an instinctive belief in the vast masses of the Soviet peoples—assurance that the Soviet Union is an international socialist country—all have been largely dissipated during the last few years.

What remains now is the absolute conviction that the Soviet Union, being a very powerful country, is following a strong nationalistic line, taking any advantage she can, trading in hard businesslike terms, offering little or no disinterested help.

Most Europeans believe that, in case of war, Russian armies would overrun the continent. They would find much support, particularly among the workers. It would take a long and costly war—perhaps destroying Europe—to dislodge them.

Europeans are willing to go far—much further than Americans—to obtain peaceful co-operation and economic exchange with Soviet Russia. The average European was not too disturbed by the Soviet Union's policy of stabilizing pro-Soviet governments. But the Czech coup was a great psychological shock because of intense admiration for the democracy achieved by the Czechoslovak Republic.

Progressive-minded Europeans explained their reaction to me in this way: "We could understand and forgive everything—in Poland, Rumania, Bulgaria, Yugoslavia. There, before the war, there was no freedom. The Communists had been tortured there, and now they take their revenge. But we cannot forgive them Czechoslovakia, for there the Communists were never persecuted. Their party was always legal. They were part of the parliamentary regime."

If Russia were to stop at the edges of her present sphere of influence the average European would do anything not to provoke any further complications.

Wherever in Europe one talks to people he uncovers intense political feeling, much stronger than in America. It is a political consciousness born of the long fight against rightism, of the revolutionary traditions of the various countries, and of the average man's degrading experiences under fascism for four long years.

Consequently, the attitude toward Russia is not so simple in Europe. Things are not black or white as in the US. The approval Russia won by ousting the tsarist regime, by its economic, educational and literary achievements, and, above all, by its military feats during World War II are still held in its favor.

Balancing the approval, there is a feeling of awe before the closely knit hierarchy that has been established in Russia, of amusement at the pomp, the gold braid and innumerable medals of the Soviet generals and marshals (especially because Communists used to be ardent antimilitarists); of misgivings at Russian intransigence at many international conferences, and of fear of Soviet plans for expansion.

With all this, there is also understanding of certain aspects of Soviet policy in those countries where Russian policy coincides with opposition to rightism and fascism.

Attitude Toward the UN And World Government

Public debate about the UN and world government is much less evident in Western Europe than in the US. The public is rather ignorant about the various complex problems which the UN faces. Newspapers devote space to the essential aspects of the East-West conflict. But positive achievements of UN in the social and economic fields are relatively unknown aside from those of the Economic Commission for Europe and the meetings of the Freedom of Information and the Human Rights Commissions.

Newspaper editors explain that they would like to devote more space to the UN but paper shortages force them to concentrate on only the main political events.

Recently, however, university students have shown increasing interest in UN affairs. Many young people are attracted to the administrative and technical aspects of the organization. The next General Assembly in Paris in September no doubt will generate a good deal of interest throughout Europe.

The French Government has already doubled its initial budgetary allowance for preparations for the Assembly, which promises to be one of the big shows of Europe this year. Most people feel that the reason Europeans are so ill-informed on UN matters is that it is so far away from them it has become almost an extra-European institution.

Support of the UN constitutes the only platform of agreement among the various political factions in Western Europe. Even so, Communists, socialists and Christian Democrats support policies of different countries within the UN.

World government supporters are very enthusiastic, but few, and their influence cannot be compared with that of their American counterparts. Almost all of them, however, are in favor of the UN, and want to see it succeed. There is a widespread opinion among the European partisans of world government that one of the prerequisites of a sound world federation is the re-establishment of a strong Western Europe as its third solid prop (the other two being US and USSR).

Spiritual and Democratic Values Survive

Thus, in the summer of 1948 Europe is healing the wounds of the most disastrous war and occupation which have ever wasted its lands. Like a convalescent, the people of Europe are enjoying the first resurgence of well-being after a long and racking illness.

From its suffering, a more mature and a better Europe is emerging. The people are generally less nationalistic than before the war. They have largely ceased to blame other countries for the coming of war and failures to build the peace. They no longer pretend to be the only ones who have solutions for all problems. There is a heartening quality of warmth, of understanding, a human solidarity which has grown out of the suffering of all Europeans.

There is also a new detachment and sincerity. After the high mark of bitter defeatism, righteousness and cynicism are now scorned as vices. Participation in rebuilding—of roads and houses, in general reconstruction, in helping children and refugees—has become a necessary activity of the decent man and woman.

The rich heritage and cultural patrimony of Europe, once in danger of being swept away, is again emerging as a real and encouraging force.

The Europeans of 1948 carefully watch every move of the two great giants which are today determining the fate of mankind. They look at them, and listen to their representatives. Their decisions will be formed, not alone on the basis of help given them, or on military contributions to the common victory of 1945, nor even on fear of the ultimate fate to befall them in case of a victory of one giant over the other—but on moral and spiritual elements.

The Europeans will determine in their own minds and hearts which of the two will have made the greatest efforts to preserve, in a good life, a treasure which has become very precious to all the warrior nations of Europe—peace.

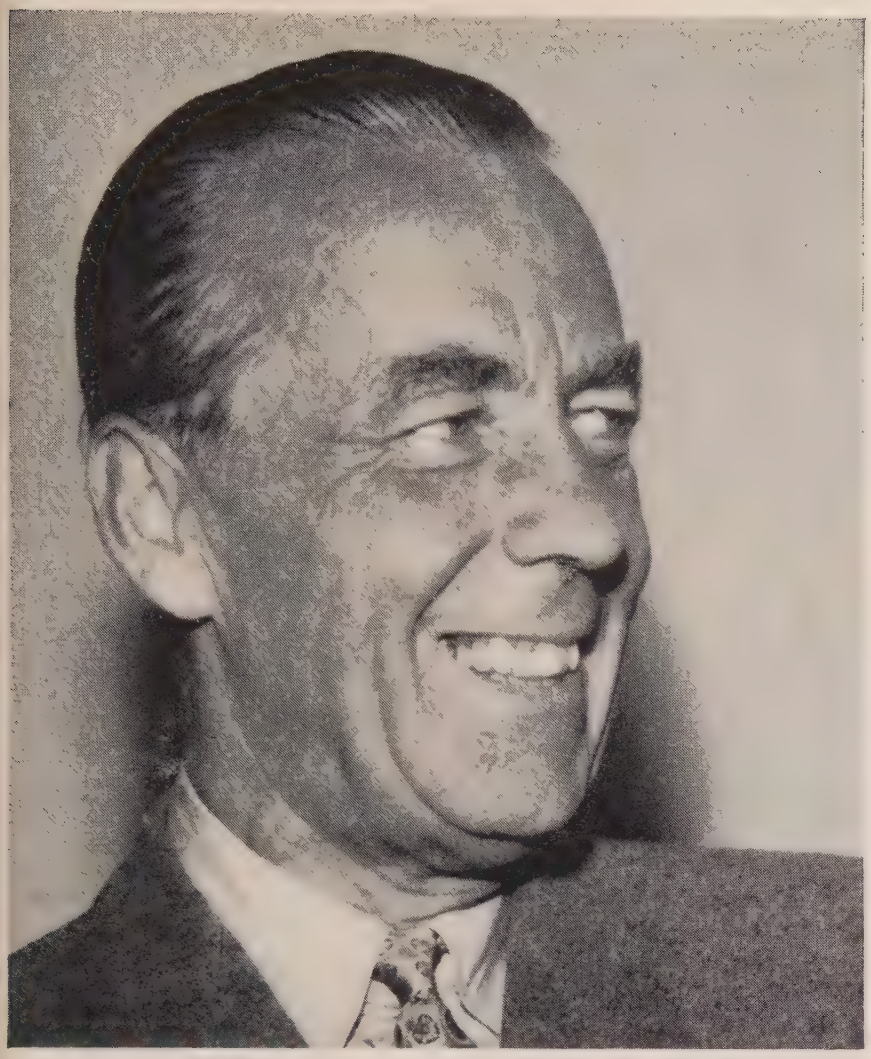
They are doing their part to avoi war, and their pride in their succes is basic in their hopefulness for th future. A year ago civil war wa predicted for Italy; it was deeme not too unlikely in France. In eac case the threat came mainly fro the left; in each case Communist increasingly self-assertive, controlle the powerful national labor confe eration.

Today functional middle-road de mocracies have been established i both nations—and thereby demo racy has been strengthened every where else in Europe. And that vic tory was achieved, Europeans ar proud to emphasize, not by bullets o clubs or castor oil, but with th traditional democratic weapon of th ballot.

Without Peace There Is No Food, Nor Hope, Nor Smile: For the Greeks

See page 2

ITALIAN WOMEN HARVEST WHEAT TO PROVIDE MORE *PANE E PASTA* FOR ITALIAN TABLES



AS HE AGES THE JAW GROWS LONGER, THE BROWS BUSHIER

A playboy of Windsor's gay generation, he has grown to be the world's most famous man of good will

BY EDMOND DEMAITRE
Former correspondent in Stockholm

Count Folke Bernadotte

THE UN's PEACEMAKER

In June the UN was faced with actual war in Israel and Palestine, and the danger that this war might spread. In this grave circumstance, to save the face—and perhaps preserve the potency—of the world organization, the Security Council chose a man to mediate the Jewish-Arab war. The great nations which had set an example of ignoring or bypassing the UN—depreciating it to the point where nations of slight physical power or moral authority ignored it—were as one in accepting the nomination of Count Folke Bernadotte.

As one of the subjects on which the US and USSR can achieve approving "unanimity," the Swedish peacemaker deserves examination and portrayal. The following report was written by a journalist who has known Count Bernadotte for many years.

On April 22, 1945, at half past eight in the evening some 50 bombers of the Royal Air Force, escorted by a group of Spitfires, attacked Luebeck on Germany's Baltic Coast. The old Hansa town was an important port and railway center, of great strategic importance to the Allied armies advancing rapidly towards the heart of Prussia.

The bombardiers aiming their bombs on the docks and the railway that cool spring night didn't know of a far more important target—a small, grey building in the middle of the town, headquarters of the Gestapo and the Counter Intelligence Service of the German Army.

In one of the rooms of this small building sat a stolid, plump figure, in the black coat of the Elite Guard. Heinrich Himmler, master of the Gestapo, had come to Luebeck hoping to save from destruction himself and the Nazi Reich which he had once been quite certain would last a thousand years.

Whether the Allied bombers knew of him or not, Himmler was not one to invite their aim. As the first fires flared in the port, he hurried from the Gestapo headquarters. Still

wrapped in his black coat he now sat in the cellar of the Swedish Consulate, eager to get to the business which had brought him to Luebeck.

At midnight the sirens wailed the all clear. Five minutes later, in the salon of the Consulate, Himmler began a momentous conversation proposing the surrender of the collapsing Nazi Reich.

The scene which brought to such an unexpected climax the most cruel and devastating of all wars, was of unprecedented dramatic quality because of the personalities engaged. It happened, perhaps for the first time in history, that the man who had been responsible for most of the cruelties and sufferings of a war found himself, suddenly, in the presence of another man whose major concern had been to lessen the evil and misery which the other had let loose on mankind.

The good man and the evil man, sitting in flickering candlelight, discussing the future of Europe: on one side of the candles the be-spectacled super-sadist who had brought mass extermination to unprecedented perfection; on the other the calm, broad-shouldered savior of the persecuted, Count Folke Bernadotte.

This was the Count's sixth or seventh perilous journey to Ge many, all undertaken to save live In contrast to the plebeian appea ance of the Nazi, the tall, blue-eye dark-browed, long-faced count w every inch an aristocrat. A memb of the French royal family Sweden, he now stepped with co plete aplomb suddenly from t anonymity of neutral isolation to b come, for a decisive period, the mo talked about man in the world.

There are men who were bo philanthropists. Count Folke Bern dotte became one.

In his youth he was one the gayest of the European Upp One Hundred. In Paris and on t French Riviera he used to patroni the same night clubs and oth gay spots as his distant cousi the future Edward VIII and Lo Louis Mountbatten. "Only those w are human," he said once to friend, "can love and understa humanity!" The young Folke w very human and not a paragon.

In 1928, at the age of 33 Cou Bernadotte elegantly bowed out the bright haunts of the internation smart set, forsaking gay bachelo hood for stable matrimony. At t time he could have chosen any pr fession. He had received a good mi tary education at the Academy Karlsberg, and was known as o of the best horsemen in the Swedi cavalry. He had the qualificatio — and the talent — to become diplomat.

Instead, after his internatio marriage to Miss Estelle Romai Manville, daughter of the Americ asbestos king, H. Edward Manvill he settled down quietly in the cou try near Stockholm and started build up the Swedish Boy Sco organization.

Count Bernadotte and his wife fi met at a dinner party given on t French Riviera in honor of his u cle, King Gustav V of Sweden. T two sat beside each other but co versation somehow proved difficu The beautiful American heiress w reserved, the lean young Swede w stymied. Suddenly a balloon us in the gala decorations exploded a fell plop on the plate of the cou This broke the ice. Two weeks lat he became engaged to Miss Manvil

Arriving in New York to married, Count Bernadotte was a sailed by newspaper reporters. "Y are a pretty fast worker," remark

THE COUNT AND THE HEIRESS WHO LIVE HAPPILY

CATCH of 1928. Under crossed sabers of noble fellow officers of the Royal Swedish Bodyguard, Bernadotte, plumed helmet on one arm, and his bride, Estelle Romaine Manville, on the other, leave the Episcopal Church of St. John at Pleasantville, N. Y.

one of the reporters, referring to the short courtship. "You have got to work fast," retorted the Count, "to get the best girl in the United States."

He seems not to have regretted his swiftness. Since his marriage he has returned frequently to the United States. During the New York World Fair he was Commissioner General of the Swedish Pavillion. He is honorary chief of a Siouan Indian tribe which adopted him under the name of "Eh-Ma-Do-Ye-Na," which means, he was told, "He who is worshipped by everybody."

The Manville marriage wasn't the first by which a Bernadotte had wed what the British describe as a commoner. Count Bernadotte's father, son of King Oscar II and brother of King Gustav, created a world-wide sensation in the late eighties by renouncing the title of Prince of the Blood to marry Miss Ebba Munck, a daughter of an old Swedish noble family.

The ex-prince devoted much of his lifetime to the Young Men's Christian Association. It was probably the example set by his father which prompted Folke Bernadotte to become leader of the Swedish Boy Scouts and later of the Swedish Red Cross Association.

With the outbreak of World War II the position became of tremendous importance not only in humanitarian but also in political terms. Surrounded on all sides by increasingly aggressive Nazi armies, exposed to never-ceasing economic and diplomatic pressure, presented with demands highly incompatible with neutrality, Sweden faced almost insuperable difficulties.

The great majority of the people were blatantly pro-Ally, but there was also a very active and well-organized, pro-Nazi column. Action to lessen misery became thus not only a genuine expression of Sweden's high civilization but it offered a means of canalizing the energy which neutrality forbade the Swedes to exercise overtly for one side or the other.

Count Bernadotte's task was enormous. He had to take care of thousands of refugees who poured over the Finnish frontiers or arrived by sea from the Baltic countries; he had to supervise auxiliary formations of the army such as the Red Cross sections of the Air Defense; he had

BERNADOTTE THE FOND FATHER

ELDEST SON and namesake, then 15, accompanied Count Bernadotte on his last visit to New York—two years ago. Young Folke sports horn-rimmed spectacles, a high school cap, and a face well-spattered with freckles. Though both parents are dark, he is blond.

BERNADOTTE THE "DO-GOODER"

BOY SCOUT Bernadotte, in the line of duty, poses for a somewhat undignified, over-flamboyant photograph during a 12-nation Scout camp held on the Swedish island of Gransoe shortly after the war ended. The "throne," feathers and all, is hand-carved wood.

to mediate between the different Red Cross associations of the belligerent countries. He did all this from his office in Birger Jarlsgatan. His staff was relatively small but he ran his office on a military pattern and with military efficiency.

The negotiations with Himmler brought world fame to Count Bernadotte but at the same time they made the world forget his other achievements.

It was, for instance, Count Bernadotte, acting for the Swedish Red Cross, who initiated the first exchange of prisoners of war between Germany and Great Britain. The exchange took place in 1943 in Gothenburg harbor, with Count Bernadotte directing personally the delicate operations which included such difficult proceedings as the identification and interrogation of insane prisoners. As the result of his initiative more than 1500 prisoners of war unfit for further active service were repatriated.

Count Bernadotte's humanitarian work involved great personal risks. In November, 1943, when the Allies launched their great raids on Berlin, he was in the German capital, quartered in the Swedish Legation which was completely destroyed by the first raid.

He had a second narrow escape in Denmark shortly after the 1945 raid on Luebeck. Returning to Germany to see Himmler, he was about to take off by plane when Allied bombers attacked the airfield. He just had time to take shelter in a ditch which after the bombing was heavily strafed. Unhurt, he departed a few hours later for Germany.

The visit resulted in one of the most astounding and less known diplomatic episodes of the war.

The fighting was already drawing to an end when, during one of Bernadotte's conversations with SS Obergruppenfuhrer Walter Schellenberg, head of the Gestapo's Foreign Intelligence, the latter expressed the somewhat novel idea that a meeting be arranged between Himmler and a representative of the Jewish Community in Sweden in order to discuss the fate of the thousands of Jewish prisoners who hadn't yet been put to death in Nazi extermination camps.

It was obvious that the Schellenberg idea was but part of a plan to "build up" Himmler and to make him ultimately acceptable to the Allies.

Bernadotte didn't care for what was in the back of Schellenberg's mind. Nevertheless people were dying by thousands in the German camps and rapid intervention could save many of them.

He returned immediately to Stockholm where he got in touch with a rich Jewish fur merchant, J. Masrur. He obtained for Masrur a German visa and arranged by cable a date with Himmler. The latter received Masrur at the Gestapo Headquarters in Luebeck and assured him that he himself "knew nothing of the atrocities committed in the concentration camps" and that "all excesses were due to overzealous underlings."

The negotiations between Bernadotte, Masrur, Himmler and Schellenberg yielded one positive result. About 7,000 Jewish women were released from the Belsen and Buchenwald death-camps and brought to Sweden. Count Bernadotte and his staff made all preparations for the transportation and the billeting of these unfortunate wretches whose average weight, on arrival in Sweden, did not exceed 90 pounds. (They brought to 20,000 the persons saved from prison by the direct intervention of Bernadotte.)

Negotiations with men like Himmler and Schellenberg required infinite tact, great caution and diplomatic flair. The Germans made more than one attempt to lure Count Bernadotte into diplomatic traps, hoping to use either him or the Swedish Government—which was both morally and officially responsible for his activities—for their own political purposes.

The Swede proved himself a match for the Nazi conspirators. He listened attentively to Himmler and Schellenberg, but without committing himself. Returning to Stockholm after the memorable meeting in Luebeck, he said only: "I have performed the functions of a postman. I hope something good will come out of it."

In private life Count Bernadotte is cheerful, friendly and unassuming. When waiting for the Allied reply to Himmler's offer he lived in the Palace of Copenhagen as guest of the Danish royal family. The news of his mission had already spread and the whole world awaited anxiously the outcome of the negotiations.

At this crucial moment an enterprising journalist in Stockholm, correspondent of the London *Daily Mail*, called the Royal Palace in Copenhagen by long distance to interview Count Bernadotte.

"I don't believe the Count wants to be disturbed," sputtered a somewhat horrified chamberlain when the correspondent asked him to call Bernadotte to the phone. "Tell him that a British reporter is calling," said the correspondent.

Count Bernadotte didn't think it improper at all for a journalist to call the Royal Palace late in the evening. He came to the phone and politely answered all questions the correspondent asked him.

Once when asked what his philosophy of life was, Count Bernadotte answered with a story: "My parents were pious people who attached great importance to praying. When I and my brother were young it often happened that we postponed our games in order to attend the prayers. One day my father discovered this and lectured us thus: 'Have a good time before you start being really serious.' This has remained my philosophy throughout life."

Count Bernadotte has two great passions; horseback riding and bicycling. Swedes often see him in Stockholm's enchanting Djurgarden riding with his two sons. During the war when petrol was strictly rationed one could meet him every morning cycling to his office. Besides horses and bicycles he loves flowers; he attends personally to his garden and when in mufti seldom forgets to put a flower in his buttonhole.

The United Nations decision to entrust Count Folke Bernadotte with the difficult task of mediating between the Jews and the Arabs in Palestine was recognition of the role he played in 1945. His success in obtaining Arab as well as Jewish acquiescence to the UN's proposal will, it appears quite certain, confirm the unofficial title of "Peacemaker No. 1," which world public opinion then bestowed on him.

When next year the Norwegian Parliament will start looking for a candidate for the Nobel Prize for Peace, it probably will not neglect this address: Count Folke Bernadotte c/o Swedish Red Cross, Stockholm.

Y WILLIAM FISHER
rmer American foreign correspondent in India.

Often extravagant, more often eccentric, the princes of India are a curious sociological excrescence on the body of New India

The Maharajas of India

HE MAHARAJA OF JAIPUR—HE SYMBOLIZES A DEAD PAST

UNTIL AUGUST 15, 1947, the British ruled India under 563 sets of laws—one for India and the rest for the 562 princely states, all more or less independent.

But now that the British have departed, a bloodless revolution has begun to modernize India. In the 10 months since the British left, more than 500 of these 562 princely preserves have acceded to the new Dominion of India: 61 have joined the Moslem union of Pakistan: and only the feudal autonomy of Hyderabad—the largest and richest of these political anachronisms—survives.

Under the skillful leadership of Vallabhbhai Patel, Deputy Prime Minister and Home Minister, 30 more or less uniform states have emerged from the archaic political crazy quilt of India. Patel's goal is to consolidate them into no more than 25—a few big ones and many unions of smaller ones.

An example is the new union of Rajasthan, formed by the merger of 10 states having a total population of about 4,000,000. Rajasthan, in turn, has joined three others to form the United States of Saurasktra, Matsya, Rajasthan and Vindhyapradesh — with a combined population of 11,000,000.

The organization of its states into units of a size and nature to function efficiently is a prime requisite

FOOD FOR THE HUNGRY. A MOB OF THE STARVING BEG RICE BEFORE A ROYAL PALACE

Champagne and Murder—Princely Whims

to the introduction of democracy in India. Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru, however, has assured the princes that it will not be his government policy to purge them.

So long as the Maharajas and the lesser princes recognize the sovereignty of the new Indian Union; so long as they accept its control over foreign affairs, defense and communications; so long as they do not obstruct the growth of responsible, representative government, they will be allowed to retain their titles, property and social—but not political—prerogatives.

The average Maharaja will continue to receive some $9,000,000 a year as his privy purse. But the day of unlimited power is over—even for the richest and strongest of them. The world will not again see the extravagance and eccentricity described in the following article. Based on an unpublished book manuscript by the late William Fisher, then *Time & Life's* brilliant correspondent in India, it describes the princely life of just yesterday—but a yesterday now forever past.

Every few months or so in India, a new scandal emerges from one of the Indian states, usually from one of the lesser sovereignties. The Oriental grapevine begins to tick and the story slowly takes shape. In bazaars and caravansaries old men sit puffing their hookahs and exchanging the latest gossip. In the shady courtyards of palaces richly garbed servants swap tid-bits. Behind the lace-like alabaster screens of palace harems, the women whisper, cluck and chortle as they talk the time away.

One state in Central India has provided more than its share of such stories, for its Maharajas have traditionally been eccentric.

One hears tales of one ruler who used to delight in driving a team of high-caste Hindu bankers around the palace race course. More recently this state's Maharaja of the moment fell in love with one of his dancing girls and showered jewels and money on her. But she grew tired of him and took herself and his jewels off to Bombay.

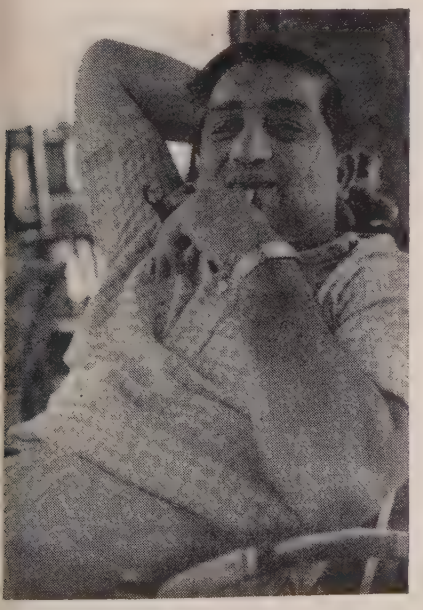
There she pyramided her past and his dowry into a marriage with a wealthy merchant. Angered by the loss of his valuables probably more than by the loss of the dancing girl, the Maharaja sent his strong-arm men after the newlyweds. They shot the husband dead. The life of the dancing girl was saved by some British officers who happened by.

Maharajas like gadgets. One, for example, takes particular pride in a button-pushing set-up which blows Flit or various brands of perfume through his main salon. Another runs a small electric train, loaded with champagne and other wines, around his huge oblong banquet table; whenever a guest picks up a passing bottle, the train stops automatically.

The ruler of a small Sikh state is one of the more extroverted of the Maharajas, whose passion for extravagance leads him to specialize in dogs. He owns superb dog kennels and keeps an army of retainers for his pets. When he takes a holiday, he provides a special houseboat for the creatures.

This same Maharaja is a very ardent hunter and takes along the

LUXURY LOVING



BARODA'S Maharaja, 39, races his horses in the US. This lolling photograph was made as he watched Hollywood races.

MONEY LOVING

HYDERABAD'S Nizam, bespectacled, lean, is a Muslim. He is 72 years old, has four wives, and 100 to 200 concubines.

FREEDOM LOVING

PRINCESS of Berar, wife of Hyderabad's heir, scorns veil and harem. Her pearls are priceless, her books dollar editions.

The Gaekwar and King George V—Jam Saheb

most elaborate equipment when he goes into the field after tigers. An army of servants precedes him, and by the time he arrives for the shoot everything is in perfect order—the great durbar tent, the bath tents, tents for retainers and His Highness' private tent richly hung with silks and lavishly carpeted. Not a detail is forgotten—down to cakes of perfumed soap in the soap dishes.

The ruler of another small state is also a specialist: An introvert, he works at drinking. He begins his day's work right after breakfast, and drinks all day until bedtime.

There is, of course, a deep personal tragedy behind this. It is woman trouble—but of an unusual nature. His first wife bore him only daughters. He wanted a son. He took a second wife who promptly produced two sons in succession. But wife No. 1 killed first the elder son and then the younger one.

The Maharaja had wife No. 1 put out of the way. But wife No. 2 next bore a girl.

Terrified, she fell back upon the classic Arabian Nights formula, and replaced the little girl with a peasant boy. The Maharaja was very glad to have an heir at last, and he trained the boy to succeed him. But, when the boy was still a youth, wife No. 2 died. On her deathbed, she confessed her trick to the Maharaja and urged him to allow a younger son, to which she had given birth after the substitution, to succeed to the throne.

The Maharaja took the matter to the British authorities in New Delhi. There the bewildered princeling was told that legitimacy dictated that the elder boy should succeed to the throne despite his actual illegitimacy. Thereupon, frustrated in his desire to have a son of his own on the throne, the Maharaja developed his specialty, drink, as compensation.

The Paternal Patiala

The harems maintained by some of the wealthier Indian princes are both enormous and elaborate. The late Maharaja of Patiala had 52 wives and 350 children. He paid each wife 10,000 rupees as a dowry and gave her 10,000 rupees for clothes. This added up to enough to force at least one modern institution upon his people—high taxes.

When His Highness died, his widows were sent back to their villages, but a kind of royal orphanage was built by the state for the care and education of all the children.

Patiala distinguished sharply between his first-class "official" wives and his "unofficial" spouses and their children. The children of his first-class wives were provided with English nurses, and when they went out for an airing it was via the front gates of the palace. The children of his second-class wives got along with Anglo-Indian nurses and were perambulated out through the back gates.

A leader and example for princely India, former Chancellor of the Chamber of Princes, is Maharaja Jam Saheb of Nawanagar. His enormous frame and gusto remind one of Wallace Beery, his conformation of Soglow's Little King (see page 23).

Unlike most of his colleagues, he believes in counting his jewels as well as wearing them, and he is shrewd enough to see that the best way to remain a Maharaja is to work at it.

So he limits his dissipations to an occasional Pink Lady and keeps only one State Elephant for solemn ceremonies. Some Maharajas have built modern bank vaults, complete with automatic alarms and elevators for their jewels. But Jam Saheb prefers old suitcases stacked one on top of the other and guarded by well-armed Arabs. It's cheaper.

Jam Saheb has a ready wit. Once at an official reception, his conversation was interrupted by one of his secretaries. Bowing and groveling, the man asked the Jam Saheb about some slight change in the parliamentary proceedings of the next meeting of the Chamber of Princes. The prince shook his head vigorously, insisting that it would not be constitutional for him to intervene. Th man insisted, the Jam Saheb gre impatient and finally waved hi away imperiously.

Then the absolute ruler of half million people turned to his co panion and snorted: "Who the he does he think I am—Roosevelt?"

Baroda is one of the advanced stat of India—no less than 18 per cent its people are literate, double t general average. As Princes go, t late Gaekwar was a progressive. fact, the British authorities som times thought him too democrati When King George V visited Indi they complained, the Gaekwar fail to bow before him properly. T contemporary Baroda is no model austerity (see page 21) but Mysor Baroda and Gwalior were among t best-governed states under the o system.

The Kashmir Record

The Maharaja of Kashmir is a cluse. Withdrawn from the condu of State affairs, he allowed Kashm to become a pasture for broken do civil servants.

One high court judge, for examp was exiled to Kashmir in such crippled state that he had to be c ried into court. He functioned pas bly well so long as the lawyers spo softly. But when they raised th voices, he would fly into a tantru Too crippled to write, he sign documents with a thumb print. other Kashmir official, a customs ficer, held seven jobs simultaneous He put seven desks into his off and passed the time moving fr one to the other writing official ters to himself.

Hyderabad is ruled by his Exal Highness, the Nizam, premier pri of India. The Nizam is generally lieved to be the richest man in world. His tastes in wealth run jewels and gold. A notorious mis he lives in a wretched house dresses in shabby clothes.

One legend about him is t when an official calls on state b ness and finds the old Nizam dozi

and FDR

all he has to do to wake him up is clink two small coins together. Another is that when the Nizam goes to the races he borrows money from his ADCs and forgets to return it. Still another, probably apocryphal, is that the Nizam owed a Hyderabad shopkeeper 30,000 rupees for 14 years; when His Exalted Highness finally paid, he deducted off 15 per cent for cash.

The most remarkable figure in Hyderabad today is the young Princess of Berar, wife of the heir apparent and daughter of the former Sultan of Turkey. She is modern and liberal and has already exerted an influence in bringing about many reforms in the state, especially with regard to women. Purdah (the historic practice of segregation of women from the eyes of any men but their husbands) is very general among the Muslim women of Hyderabad and the Princess, by refusing to go into purdah and by making numerous public appearances, has caused a minor revolution among them.

Even in Hyderabad the power of the prince is undergoing change and each event foretells the end of feudalism in this last stronghold.

* * *

The miracle, and the hope, is that such great changes as are required can come so peacefully. Only a few years ago a Maharaja's whim was law. Only recently one of these rulers banned typewriters from his state as instruments of sedition. One prince spent three times as much on his stable of fine horses as on public health. Another had as his Chief Justice a man who simultaneously held the post of Inspector of Dancing Girls.

There is good reason, then, for the recent comment of Prime Minister Nehru: "The formation (within the Commonwealth) of Unions of States during the last few months will go down in the history of India as one of the most momentous events of this age."

NAWANAGAR'S Jam Saheb addressing the Chamber of Princes reads solemnly into a gilded microphone. His glasses are primitive bifocals like those Ben Franklin wore—but the buttons that descend his bulging front are jewels and his trousers are jodhpurs.

Top cartoons of the month

HOW WORLD'S CARTOONISTS SEE—

The Cold War
The Peace Scare
And De Gaulle

Copyright, 1948, New York Herald Tribune I

At Last a Point of Agreement

Herald Tribune, New York

Molotov: "The Soviet Government is quite willing to discuss any changes in the American foreign policy."

Verdens Gang, Oslo.

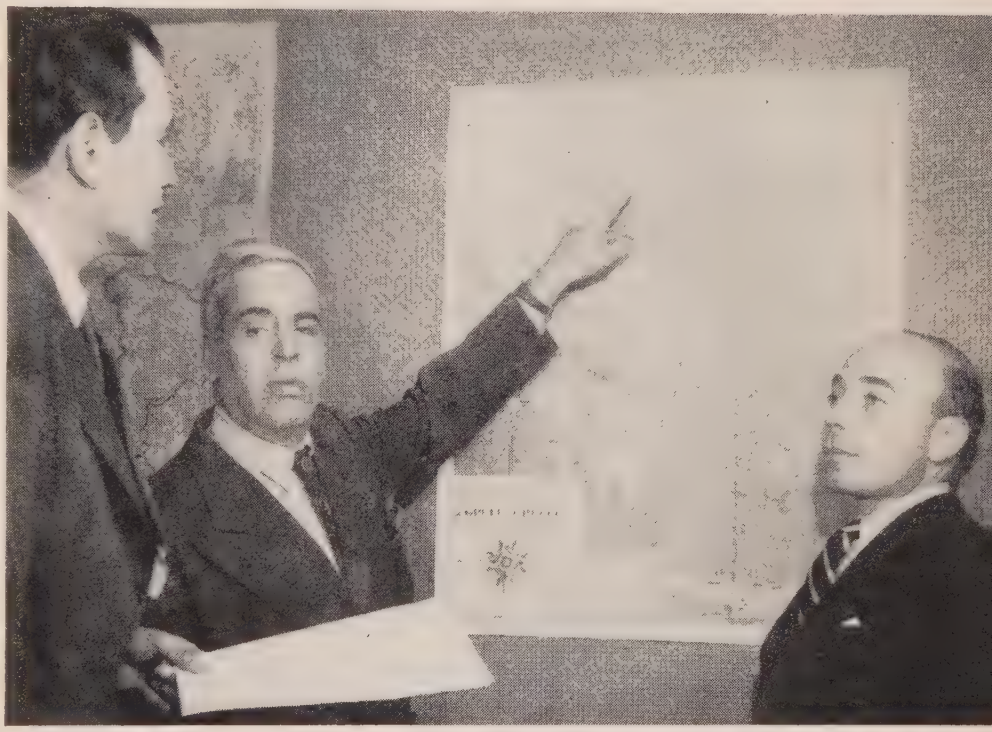
De Gaulle: "Yes it is the same model, but I painted that portrait during the war . . ."
El Diario, La Paz.

THE BALKAN STORY

An interview with Dr. Castillo Najera

UN Balkan Commission Chairman gives his personal--not official—views of Greece and East-West conflict

Dr. Castillo Najera of Mexico, a man whose experience dates back to the League of Nations, was given by the UN the difficult task of heading its first major mission. If, as now seems probable, the Balkan Commission is successful in localizing the Greek civil war and avert international conflict in the area, Dr. Najera's mission may be credited by historians with having the world organization from otherwise inevitable failure. In the following interview, given in Geneva exclusively to UN WORLD, Dr. Najera voices an optimism which is in strange contrast with the miseries that engulf Greece.



AT GENEVA, Chairman Najera, pointing, and Raoul Aglion, Chief of Secretariat, explain how the Commission's teams of observers operate to Louis Dolivet of UN WORLD.

1 *Can you, in your private capacity, explain what the human element is in the Balkan conflict?*

As a personal human experience, I would say that this Commission, which is quite different from the usual type of United Nations body entrusted with similar tasks, has had a most exciting experience. Our field of activity was almost unlimited and extended over the whole gamut of human emotions. The Greek frontier is today the only boundary where East and West meet—directly, in a fluid, nonsettled, military and politically uncertain, and therefore dangerous relationship.

"In order to understand what is going on today in Greece, one must take into account not only the recent history of the Second World War but the crossroad position of Greece for centuries where it has become the center of world strategic conflicting interests.

"Thus, Greek people, while conserving jealously their full independence internally and also the undying principle of human dignity of the Greek civilization, are constantly being submitted in the field of their external relations to contrary pressures because of their very vital geographic position.

"Economically the country has not benefited from the situation owing to the absence of basic raw materials and the surplus of population, concentrated in only one fifth of the territory as the remaining four fifths are barren mountains. This has resulted in the impoverishment of Greece and the average Greek citizen today desires above all else a minimum living standard and personal freedom."

2 *Has the Greek Government sufficient forces to fight the guerrillas?*

"You will realize that guerrilla warfare is a very specialized type of war in which the guerrillas have the advantage of mobility and of not being hampered in their movements by the necessity of bringing up supplies. On the other hand, the army opposing them has to leave troops to guard villages, strategic positions, bridges, roads, telephone communications, supplies, etc., and to move troops in difficult mountainous terrain where the guerrillas disband and thus easily escape.

"A further difficulty lies in the fact that most of the battles with guerrillas take place more or less in the north of Greece along the frontiers, and to avoid international incidents Greek troops have orders not to advance beyond four kilometers within the frontiers so that when the guer-

rillas reach that zone they are virtually safe from attack or capture."

3 *What is the number of Greek guerrillas?*

"It is estimated between 20,000 and 25,000."

4 *What is your opinion on the way out of the present situation in Greece with respect to the help allegedly obtained by the guerrillas from the northern neighbors of Greece?*

"I would rather not express my opinion on this subject. Two Interim Reports have been made and published in which it is accepted that the guerrillas continue to receive logistical aid from Albania. Other reports that have since been approved by the Committee have shown in varying degrees support given by the other northern neighbors."

5 *Do you think that the situation in Greece is becoming more dangerous or, rather, is it being stabilized or eased in any way?*

"It is like a chronic disease which at any given moment can have an acute outburst. In general, it can be said that it has not changed too much since last year."

6 *Have the observers been able to play a more active role than that of mere observation?*

"Yes. There have been certain instances where they have succeeded in establishing contact between guards of both sides of the frontiers."

7 *Can it be stated that the Greek military authorities fully respect the independence of the Committee and have never required that the observers transmit military information to them?*

"Certainly. They have left the Groups absolutely free, only facilitating the task of the Groups by giving them lodging, etc., but never interfering with the substance of the work of the Observation Groups."

8 *The Report of the Balkan Committee to the General Assembly will be ready at what time?*

"At the end of June and then this Report will be transmitted to all Member States of the United Nations, after having been processed at the Lake Success Headquarters [translation into the five official languages, printing, etc.].

9 *As a general conclusion from your work on the Balkan Committee, would you care to comment on whether you consider the present United Nations machinery workable?*

"Naturally in some aspects it could be improved, but it is certainly workable. The experience gained by this Committee, which was the first commission of this kind in the field, proves that commissions must be given considerable latitude in their field of action because the actual situations with which they are confronted are often entirely different from those foreseen by the Gener Assembly, as was the case with th Committee.

"Their terms of reference shou be left extremely flexible in order be able to adapt themselves to t realities of the situation, so that the do not find themselves bound by na row terms of reference given by t General Assembly in their first hyp thetical adjudication of the situation

10 *Was the presence of the Ba kan Commission of any vall in easing the tension of t situation?*

"The Balkan Commission has ce tainly served its purpose. It has st bilized the situation and it can no be stated that today there is no mo danger of a radical change in t situation in the Balkans.

"Also, by means of diplomat moves and by wielding its mor authority, the Committee has su ceeded in helping to prevent the re ognition of Markos, leader of t guerrillas, by Albania, Bulgaria a Yugoslavia and thus, for the tir being, has eliminated a major reas for an international conflict.

"Since the presence of the Co mission in Greece, the consequenc of frontier incidents have been duced to a minimum, all parties b ing eager to avoid the Commissio discovering violations of the bord I must state, of course, that the s uation is still precarious and will main so until such decisions a taken by the General Assembly help the Commission in its work ameliorating the situation and prote ing the northern borders of Greece

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What of Trade with the Balkan Satellite States?

Can Western Nations Afford to do business beyond the East-West border?

THE ANSWERS TO THESE AND RELATED QUESTIONS ARE GIVEN IN

Achilles Heel of the Marshall Plan—East-West Trade *(on page 54)*

By HERBERT HARRIS, *World Economics Editor*

Nine Men Against a World War

An exclusive account of the world's major effort to avert war—a composite report from Salonika, Geneva and Lake Success by the Editors of UN WORLD

SOME seven months ago, on a wintry morning, a shivering handful of the inhabitants of Salonika gathered at their airport to witness an official arrival. Hungry, grimy, ill—they had come to see with their own eyes an incident of historical significance without precedent in the history of the world.

As the sunken-eyed Greeks watched, Dr. Castillo Najera, former Mexican Minister of Foreign Affairs and veteran statesman of the League of Nations descended from a plane, followed by Adm. Alan G. Kirk, US Ambassador to Brussels and hero of the Normandy landing, and seven other top ranking diplomats. They were the members of the United Nations Special Balkan Committee assigned by the General Assembly to the grave task of preserving world peace. With some 140 others, members of the UN Secretariat, aids, translators and assistants they were the visible, incarnate arm of the peace-loving united nations of the world. Their job was to localize a shooting civil war in Greece lest it become a truly international war.

Even at first sight, Salonika was obviously not a propitious headquarters for a committee whose duty was to restore good neighborly relations between Greece on one side and Albania, Yugoslavia and Bulgaria on the other.

The first reaction of the Committee members was one of amazed discouragement as they rode through the bleak, badly paved streets to the city's center. Salonika is one of the saddest cities of the world, memories of Nazi cruelties still fresh in its memory.

When the Committee arrived it was—as it still is—a besieged city in which 200,000 inhabitants, 60,000 refugees (4,000 of them small children) and a Greek royalist army were penned by guerrilla forces. It had no telephones, no newspapers, no trains, and all of its roads were mined by the guerrillas six or seven miles outside its limits.

TRIUMPH for world law. This exclusive, apparently undramatic photo records a major achievement of the Balkan Commission. A Bulgarian officer, left, examines credentials of the first UN observers to enter his country. The team, of Chinese, British, Mexican and French composition, wears armbands. A Greek Army officer is at the right.

Health conditions were—and remain—among the worst in the world. A particularly virulent infectious jaundice plagues the townspeople. Successive capture and/or occupation by Nazi, liberation, anti-royalist and royalist armies have almost destroyed trade and ruined its industry. The haggard inhabitants go on trying to re-establish business, but it is a hopeless undertaking so long as planes and a rare ship in the dead harbor remain their only links with the outside world.

The inhabitants use no soap, for the only available brand is believed by them to be made of the bodies of slain Salonika Jews, 98 per cent of whom were destroyed by the Axis forces.

There are only two relatively inhabitable hotels, the Mediterranean and the Ritz. Here the UN diplomats found rooms with practically none of the comforts of home. They contained no chairs, inconstant electric light insufficient to permit reading by night. The fitful current they did have was furnished by the mo-

tors of a Greek ship in the harbor.

Even a walk of any considerable length was impossible, since one could not leave the city limits without danger from snipers or mines. Life was almost like that aboard a ship. The members of the Committee had to be satisfied with a short walk to the "de luxe" restaurant called Olympos which in better days had been the rendezvous of sailors.

Less rugged of taste and constitution than their predecessors, the delegates and their staff hardly judged the Olympos' cuisine quite up to the nectar and ambrosia they once associated with its mountain namesake. The only other restaurant in town was the Floca, where the representatives went when even the thought of the Olympos proved too much for squeamish stomachs.

Their most tantalizing food experiences were in the British officers' Macedonian Club, to which they were invited from time to time. There were also held the twice weekly dances, which one member of the Committee described romantically as "both a wonderful remembrance of the past and a wishful hope for the future."

The hardships of life in Salonika were especially irksome for men and women straight from the softly upholstered halls at Lake Success and the comfortable lobbies of the Waldorf-Astoria and the Pierre. But not a single member of the mission has walked out on the job or refused to carry out an assignment.

In spite of the setbacks which UN undertakings have suffered in various parts of the world, there is visible here a growing sense of responsibility and loyalty on the part of its delegates to the UN, members of the Secretariat, even secretaries, drivers, interpreters, typists and other aids.

The story of the Balkan Committee is the story of the complexities that are met in any attempt to establish a United Nations concept in world affairs. The Committee was not born of love, but of the deep antagonism between the Eastern and Western blocs. As is the case with most loveless children, it was received with hostility—both in certain quarters of the UN as well as by the guerrilla forces in the battle areas along the Greek border.

The Committee was assigned the task of observing one of the most acute danger spots of our time—the thousand-mile-long boundary between Greece and her northern neighbors; and also to serve as a conciliator between four countries which have been for centuries filled with ferocious and undying hatreds and steeped in the tradition of the vendetta.

Even before the Committee left the US, it knew that Albania, Yugoslavia and Bulgaria would not welcome it, and as soon as it landed in Salonika it was given confirmation that the Greek guerrillas under General Markos Vafiades not only would refuse to co-operate with it, but would consider it as an agent of Anglo-Saxon and Anglo-American imperialism.

Representatives of Australia, Brazil, China, France, Mexico, the Netherlands, Pakistan, the UK and the US make up the Committee. The two seats reserved for the USSR and Poland remain unoccupied.

The first few days after the arrival of the Committee, its members were all but desperate. Only then did they fully realize, now that they were on the spot, the almost insuperable obstacles they faced in the opposition of three of the four governments they were to reconcile, and the Greek guerrilla forces whose activities they were to observe and report back to the UN.

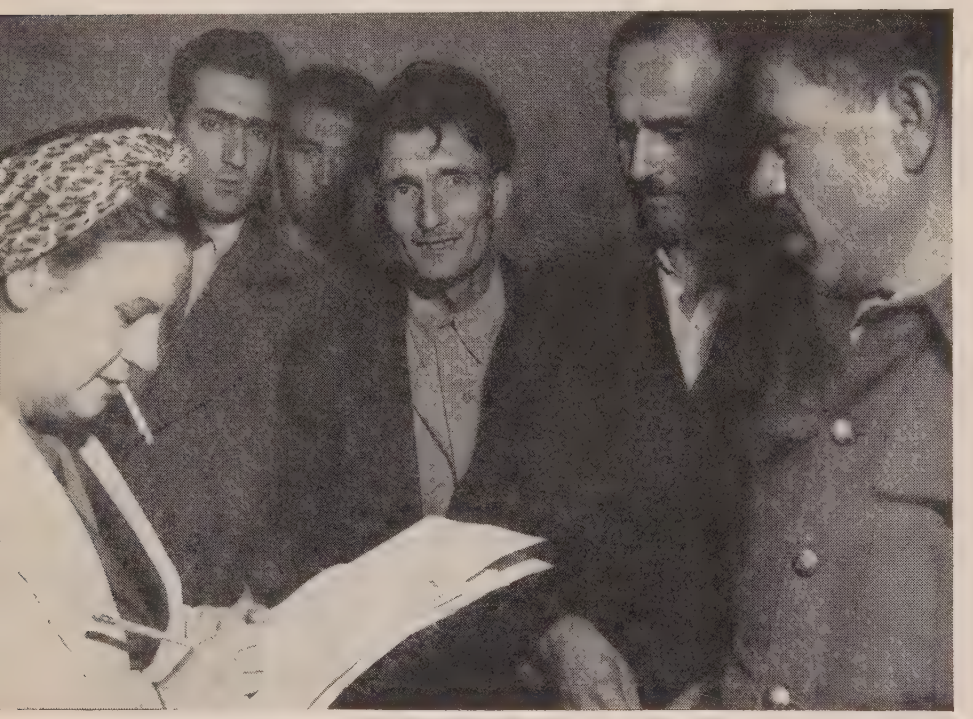
Committee feeling, later too well justified by unhappy experience, was that the General Assembly's choice of Salonika as their headquarters was not a happy one. In addition to next-to-impossible living conditions the rampant jaundice immediately attacked a number of the staff. There was, in addition, almost complete isolation from the outside world.

However, the despair of the first few days was soon overcome by a brilliant political discovery which offered a way of escape from the threatened inactivity and ineffectiveness.

The way out was the formation of observation groups, which were not directly foreseen by the resolution of the General Assembly, but which the Committee had the power to establish by virtue of its right to create its own rules of procedure, and such sub-committees as it might deem necessary to the fulfillment of its mission.

These observation groups, of which there are six today, consist of

INVESTIGATION IN GREECE



AN ENGLISHWOMAN does a man-size job interrogating interned non-Greeks. The men, all Bulgarians, Yugoslavs or Albanians, voluntarily gave testimony to the Commission to Investigate the Greek Frontier Issues, predecessor to the Najera mission.

representatives of various governments which have members in the Balkan Committee. Generally consisting of four members, a UN Secretariat member, an interpreter, a radio operator and a driver, the teams go directly to those points on the border where smuggling of arms is presumed to be taking place, and to the various fighting areas.

The observer teams are unarmed, although constantly in danger and often under fire. Their only defense is identification signs in special colors, yellow flags and large UN insignia, so as to make clear to both royalists and guerrillas that they are representatives of an international organization

As soon as the observer teams began to function, the whole life of the Committee was changed -reports were carried back and forth, and every day hundreds of pages of minutely detailed observations were noted down in both official languages (English and French) to be incorporated later in the report.

International Loyalty

The members of the Committee and the Secretariat did a most remarkable educational job in creating a truly international staff concept for all those engaged in the activities of the Balkan Committee.

First of all, the members of both the Committee and the observer teams had to be trained to extreme secrecy, for if there were any leak of observations, the UN teams would be in danger of being accused by the guerrillas -and rightly so— of serving as information agents for the Greek government.

The members chosen to represent one of the nine nations on the Committee were mostly reserve officers who had to learn to understand the difference between the status of a man in the service of his country and that of an international civil servant. It took long and patient explaining and frequent reading of the Charter for military people to learn that, in their new capacity as members of an observation team of the UN, their loyalty was owed exclusively to the UN of which their own country was a part.

It was not unusual for the members of observation teams and Secretariat representatives to discuss this new concept of international loyalty into the night. After many such sessions the most stubborn nationalist learned to understand that UN loyalty is not opposed to the true interests of their respective countries.

It is paradoxical, but encouraging, that, in the midst of the hatreds of this strangest of all civil wars, military men learned to understand that a new international concept was being born. One member of an observer team put it in this fashion: "In time of war I was ready to die for victory; now I am ready to die for world peace."

Business as Unusual

During the seven months that the Committee and observer teams have been working, some curious incidents occurred. One anecdote illustrates the way the inhabitants in both guerrilla and royalist territories regard this war. It is, despite all the ferocity in which it developed, a rather practical point of view.

A few months ago the roads were being heavily mined by guerrilla forces, and the work of the observer teams was considerably endangered. Not sticking to formality too strictly, some members of these teams conceived the brilliant idea of suggesting to the farmers that they might earn a little money by watching the roads at night, and for every mine they would thus discover they would receive 10,000 drachmae ($1.00).

So every night one could find farmers lying behind bushes near the roads, each looking out for a guerrilla, who would usually come along at about 2 o'clock in the morning, dig a hole and place a mine. As in all fields, so in this, experience suggested more efficient methods An American team member proposed that it might be more practical to have the farmers bring the mines to headquarters and there receive his 10,000 dr. per mine.

Suddenly thereafter the number of mines increased unaccountably, a single peasant bringing in a bag of as many as 40 mines. The situation seemed to warrant an inquiry before the expenses involved amounted to hundreds of millions of drachmae.

The result of the private sub-investigation disclosed that some of the farmers had organized an on-the-spot deal with the guerrillas whereby —instead of the guerrillas digging the holes and placing the mines, necessitating opening the hole and digging out the mine by the peasant —they arranged an exchange.

After all they were members of one and the same people—so why should not the mine be delivered to the farmer and the farmer deliver half of his 10,000 dr. pay to the guerrilla! All was well, but the price of the mines in the woods surrounding Salonika fell considerably after that extraordinary syndicate was exposed.

After many months of patient work, the Committee, despite all the initial opposition to it, is coming to be accepted as an institution on both sides of the shifting and changing boundaries of the respective royalist and guerrilla territories.

Within the last few weeks, the Committee attained a major success when the Bulgarians authorized for the first time the entry of a UN investigation team accompanied by a Greek officer into its territory, in order to examine a complaint by the Bulgarians.

This concession by the Bulgarians is considered by diplomatic observers as the first move toward an entirely new attitude now being created in the Balkans, one which contains most hopeful signs for the future.

The concession by the Bulgarians was followed by a considerable easing up on the part of the Albanian authorities. These late successes, obtained by the Committee almost at the time it was winding up its activities, indicate how a patient international effort by an objective body that fully realizes the delicate situation in which it finds itself, in the final analysis results in a considerable contribution to a healthier international atmosphere.

Report With a Bite

Today in the UN Palace in Geneva, the Committee is writing its full report to the Assembly. Though being prepared at top speed, it will be an exhaustive and important document and it will be headline material when finally released at Lake Success.

The report will deal not only with the immediate political realities of the various phases of the Greek conflict, but will be precedent making in that it will establish in the clearest possible way the necessity of international supervision of major conflicts which threaten international peace and security.

The Unpretty Labor in Which The New State of Israel Was Born

BEGINNING with the decision last November to partition Palestine between Arabs and Jews, the United States has been primarily responsible for major decisions — except that to end the British mandate. UN variance on the subject of a Jewish state, from warm to cold and back again, has been in the main a reflection of unforeseen US moves.

There are many possible explanations.

One, most certainly, is simply that a presidential election is imminent in the US.

Another seems to be that President Truman consistently favored the existence of a Jewish state after May 15 *if* it could set itself up and protect itself without outside aid. The sudden switch to recognition of Israel came at the height of the Haganah's success in fighting the Arabs and carving out the Jewish state.

For nearly three decades the problem of the Holy Land and the peoples who covet it has stood high on the list of international tragedies (UNW, May, 1948). The danger now is that the tragedy of Palestine may become the tragedy of the United Nations.

The drama commenced on April 2, 1947. On that day Great Britain asked the UN General Assembly to convene an emergency session, the first in its history, and make recommendations on "the future government of Palestine."

Delegates gathered in a climate of conflict. It was the spring of the Balkans case and the Corfu Channel fight. Russia's Security Council

WAITING FOR PEACE. Black-bearded and white-bearded, secure in their faith in the righteousness of the cause of Israel, two rabbis sit out a meeting on a back bench on the UN campus. Just around the balconied corner is the main entra

vetoes had climbed to 9. The Trusteeship Council had held its first meeting and the seat marked USSR had stood empty. Relations between East and West were cloudy.

From all quarters came forecasts of doom and disintegration. Diplomats, UN officials, politicians, propagandists, priests and rabbis, clubwomen and lecturers, columnists and commentators — all listed the dire consequences that could strike Lake Success if the outcome did not fit their particular and varied demands for Palestine.

Surprisingly, the emergency meeting was harmonious. Great Britain indicated she was placing all her trust for a solution in the UN. On May 13, 1947, the Assembly appointed a Special Committee on Palestine and ordered it to study the problem and propose a solution.

The Report

UNSCOP went to Palestine, to displaced persons camps in Europe, and then to Geneva to draft its conclusions. On August 31, by a vote of 7 to 3, it recommended that Great Britain rule Palestine for another two years—until September 1, 1949 —and that the land be partitioned into independent Arab and Jewish states and Jerusalem into an international enclave. All three sections of the Holy Land would be joined by economic union.

In mid-September the General Assembly convened its regular session. Relations between Russia and the Western powers had dropped several pegs.

The East-West battle progressed as scheduled in the Assembly's six working committees. But in the seventh — a special committee on Palestine—sweet harmony joined the United States and Russia.

Great Britain quickly made clear she would not help enforce any decision that did not meet with approval both of Arabs and Jews. And, as if in support of Britain's warning, Jamal el Husseini of the Arab Higher Committee gave defiant voice to his fears:

"If partition is approved," he told the Committee, "we Arabs will drench the soil of Palestine with the last drop of our blood in the lawful defense of all and every inch of it."

But Russia and the United States agreed on a formula of partition. It provided that the Security Council give guidance and instructions to a five-nation Palestine commission to supervise the division of Palestine into Arab and Jewish states and the transfer of authority from Great Britain. The deadline for completing partition was set at October 1, 1948.

The Policy

In the last dramatic week of the Assembly session the United States, heretofore lethargic, stepped up its drive for final adoption of the partition formula. Arabs worked desperately but could line up no more than 12 or 13 votes against partition. The United States and the rest of the partition bloc knew the only bar to victory would be a large number of abstentions from the voting. The possible abstainers were America's target in the final week of debate.

Partition won committee approval but the majority was one vote short of the two-thirds required for final Assembly approval. For four hectic days the issue hung on that single vote.

Arabs charged bitterly that American "pressure" was being exercised. With tears streaming down his cheeks the delegate of Haiti, who earlier had made a strong speech declaring his country against partition, told newsmen he suddenly had been ordered from home to vote for partition.

Carlos P. Romulo of the Philippines sailed for Europe before the showdown, leaving instructions for the Filipino vote to be cast with the Arabs. A frantic ship-to-shore telephone conversation between Romulo and his subordinates at Flushing Meadow resulted in a switch in his orders. The men he had left behind at Lake Success held handfuls of telegrams from US senators and congressmen as they sought Romulo's permission for a switch in vote. The final vote came on November 29 and partition carried by seven ballots.

Arab delegates angrily left the Assembly Hall after the vote. "The United Nations Charter is dead," said Prince Feisal Saud of Saudi Arabia.

"Not dead—murdered," corrected El Khouri of Syria.

Partition quickly ran into trouble. Before the five-nation commission convened on January 9, violence had mounted in Palestine. The need for force was apparent to everyone.

Secretary General Trygve Lie comforted the "five lonely pilgrims" of the Commission. The Security Council certainly "will assume its responsibility for implementing partition," he said.

Great Britain announced she would terminate the mandate May 15 and evacuate the last of her army by August 1. She next announced her inability to vacate a port for Jews as proposed in the partition scheme. She advised the Palestine commission it would not be able to land in Palestine before May 1 to begin work which could not possibly be accomplished in two weeks.

She raised obstacles to formation of the Jewish militia called for, together with an Arab militia, in the partition blueprint.

The Policy Changes

By February 16, the Palestine Commission was convinced it could not do the job without an international army to back it up. It called on the Security Council to provide one. That started the breakup of the partition program, and the piecemeal emergence of the new American strategy for Palestine.

Objectives of the new American strategy were many.

First, the settlement must be one less likely to provide troubled waters for Russian fishermen.

Second, it must project the US into an active role in Palestine.

Third, this must be done at no cost in American lives.

Fourth, the procedure must be designed to soften as much as possible the bad reaction caused by the American switch in policy.

Warren Austin began the somersault on February 24.

"The Charter of the Unted Nations," said Austin, "does *not* empower the Security Council to enforce a political settlement." Nor would America sanction the use of force to carry out partition.

With that declaration, the Security Council was pushed into the second stage of the new American maneuver. Austin placed on the record a vote in which the council declined to "accept" the partition plan until the Big Five powers "consulted" on possible steps to enforce it.

The next step consisted of a series of private conferences in which the matter of enforcing partition never

actually was discussed. American officials conceded later that during this week of private consultations, they had in their pockets the new American proposal for shelving partition, calling the Assembly into emergency session and imposing an indefinite UN trusteeship on Palestine.

The proposal finally came into the open in March. Austin laid it before the Security Council as the only feasible step. On April 1, the council approved the American appeal for an Assembly session, Gromyko protesting.

A tragic and dangerous situation greeted delegates of the 57 UN countries on April 16. The Jews, promised their state by the world's two greatest powers, had moved forward so far toward statehood they were unwilling and very possibly unable to stop. And May 15 was only a month away from that time.

The Arabs were heartened by the knowledge that their relatively minor show of strength had forced the UN's most powerful member to back down. They were ready with stronger measures.

It quickly became apparent that a large block of UN countries, angry and embarrassed at the American somersault, would support no new formula without ironclad guarantees of enforcement.

As May 15 came careening toward the leaderless Special Assembly, the US laid seven different "plans" before the delegates. They ranged from a draft trusteeship agreement of 47 articles to a last-minute plan for a one-man trusteeship over Jerusalem which American officials insisted would not really be a trusteeship.

Through the entire four-month emergency period, the White Ho and State Department rarely gave UN delegation more than an h or two of advance notice about of the varied proposals. Ameri officials at the UN gave confu and often contradicting "expla tions" of US policy.

On May 7, the Assembly, by a v of 35 to 0 with 17 abstentio adopted a British-inspired resolut inviting Great Britain to name "emergency mayor" to maint some semblance of order in leaguered Jerusalem.

Sir Carl Berendsen of New Z land, sputtering with the indignati declared:

"We have, in 21 days, agreed appointment of a mayor to coll the garbage in Jerusalem." Even t project nearly fell through, eventually the UN persuaded a Phi delphia Quaker, Harold Evans, tackle the assignment.

DISCUSSING TWO QUESTIONS—PEACE AND WAR IN PALESTI

PARODI OF FRANCE, seated, who served as president of the Security Council during the critical days in Palestine, listens while Faris el-Khouri of Syria presents a point. Others, from left, are Dr. Enrique Ferrer Viera, Argentina; Guy de Tournelle, France; Dr. Dragoslav Protitch, UN (Office of S curity Council Affairs, behind el-Khouri), and A. Adly, Syr

Seven more days passed before the Assembly made its final decisions of the Special Session. The last meeting reeled to a finish as Britain threw down her long and unhappy mandate on the evening of May 14, and the Jews were celebrating formal proclamation of the new state of Israel. The drama of May 14, 1948, will long be remembered in the United Nations.

The American delegation fought a frantic battle against time to ram a twin proposal through the Assembly before the 6 p.m. deadline for the end of Britain's mandate. Unbeknownst to any of them, even Chief Delegate Austin, the White House prepared a proclamation that was to jolt the General Assembly into dazed and unbelieving confusion. At 6 p.m., the first half of the American plan still had not come to a vote. Awni Khalidy of Iraq bounded to his feet, pointed a finger at the clock and shouted: "It is after 6 o'clock. This American proposal is now dead." The Assembly went through the motions of voting anyway, killing for lack of a two-thirds majority, the United States proposal for a "trusteeship-type" regime to control Jerusalem.

The US Full Circle

At 6:11 p.m., press association news tickers clattered with bulletins from Washington. The US, in a special White House proclamation, had recognized the new state of Israel. The news spread quickly through the corridors and delegates' lounge at Flushing Meadow. Jews embraced each other in the corridors. Arabs muttered "treachery." Questioned, Francis B. Sayre took the floor to deliver what must have been the most difficult speech ever made in the UN. "I regret that the United States delegation cannot confirm this," said Sayre. "We have only the reports from the [news] tickers."

The delegation telephoned Washington to confirm the news, then Phillip C. Jessup of the American delegation read the text of President Truman's proclamation to the Assembly. He urged the confounded world parliament to go ahead and approve the second part of the last-minute American program—appointment of a UN mediator.

The UN's diplomats agreed, voting 31 to 7, with 16 nations abstaining, to let the Big Five send a mediator into the Holy Land. The man, chosen later by unanimous agreement of the big powers, was Count Folke Bernadotte of Sweden (see page 15).

Thus, after a month of the most aimless wandering in diplomatic history, the General Assembly disbanded under the weight of a partial military *fait accompli* in the Holy Land and a political *fait accompli* in Washington.

Within hours after the end of the emergency meeting, the tangle was back in the Security Council. The Arab League countries invaded Israel; Israel invaded Arabian Palestine. The United States and Russia—which also had recognized Israel—again found themselves in partnership. The two great powers urged that the Security Council should bring the punitive sections of the UN Charter to bear against the Arabs unless they gave up their attempt to decimate the new Jewish state. Britain opposed America and Russia.

The Security Council then became deeply involved in a fateful struggle. The question of intervention in the Holy Land aroused, in some, memories of Ethiopia and Spain. To othres, such parallels were not valid. General agreement was, however, that the outcome could be disastrous for the UN. Or, it could produce some sign that the great powers are willing to test the UN's peace-some sign that the great powers are willing to test the UN's peace-making making machinery before scrapping it. This problem of national interest versus international security had risen in other cases—the Balkans dispute, the Indonesian question, the atomic energy control negotiations, and the like—but never so acutely as in the Palestine case.

The job of averting war in Palestine was left to the Arabs. the Jews, and Count Bernadotte. His success in winning agreement to a four-week truce beginning June 11 restored the UN's face and its waning prestige.

Thus, despite two years of bitter rivalry and big power abuse, the UN managed to retain a supply of the one ingredient it needs above all others. By establishing, despite the strongest members, the c onditions which led to the birth of Israel, it won the grudging faith of substantial and influential elements of the world public.

ROBERT MANNING

There Is Still Time to Give For the Children

"Father" of the United Nations Appeal for Children is Ake Ording, a slight, balding Norwegian, who suggests that everyone all over the world give one day's pay to feed needy children. Today the Appeal, under Mr. Ording's direction, has collected some $20,000,000.

In his office at Lake Success, busy Mr. Ording keeps track of the money that comes in and the countless letters from great and humble people. He feels that " 'We, the people,' have at last found a way in which we can act directly 'to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war.' "

"We" means people like an American schoolteacher who sent in one month's paycheck "not because I have so much but because the children have so little," it is people like the 30 women from war-scarred Bolton, England, who cut their already meager rations almost to the starvation line in order to contribute to the Appeal. Children in a Cuban orphanage are giving up one meal a day to help other, needier children.

"Help save the next generation, help strengthen the UN . . . help secure world peace!"

"The UN Appeal for Children will not solve all the world's ills nor will it care for all the desperately needy children" (more than 230 million), Mr. Ording emphasized. "But it will make the first installment in this tremendous enterprise." The Appeal is still going on; collections are being made in the US by the American Overseas Aid and by state and local committees across the country.

Textbooks, Plows, Puppets

In two remote parts of Haiti and East Africa, there are 45,000 people for whom the United Nations is the most important thing that ever happened. In Marbial Valley in southern Haiti and in the Mponela area of Nyasaland, UNESCO is starting two projects to teach the people to read and write and to produce more food.

The Haitian project is the only one

in which three specialized agencies are working together—UNESCO, the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) and the World Health Organization (WHO).

The last will set out to eliminate malaria, yaws and hookworm.

FAO will run a model farm, show how erosion can be prevented by strip farming, contour plowing and crop rotation.

Now there is no school in Marbial Valley. UNESCO will establish two schools for children and 10 for adults. Movies and phonograph records as well as textbooks will be used in teaching.

The number to be benefited is virtually all of Marbial's 30,000 population; all are Negroes; all speak a Creole dialect. Head of the project is Dr. Alfred Metraux, noted French anthropologist, a former member of the UN Secretariat.

The East African project differs in that the 15,000 Mponelans farm fertile lands and have already begun a concerted effort to raise their very low standard of living through a society called Ukani (Rise Up).

As a result, wells have been cleaned, laundries built, a Women's Institute started where sewing, knitting and cooking are taught. Teachers have put on puppet shows, directed plays and glee clubs.

Homes for the Homeless

This year 300,000 DP's, for years merely depressing statistics or nameless faces behind the fences of "camps," will become people again. And one in 12 will become suddenly 20th-century people, traveling swiftly by air to far parts throughout the world.

The International Refugee Organization, perhaps the UN agency most concerned with immediate human problems—religion, politics, family life, fear—is behind the projects. Because of lack of shipping, it has arranged to transport its charges by air. During the next three years the planes will transport 25,000 people. Canada will admit 17,500 at a monthly rate of 1400 persons—all from Germany. Almost 3000 DP's have already been flown to Venezuela. East Africa has been housing 13,000 DP's of which Kenya Colony (British) will accept 300 of them as permanent citizens. Australia plans to admit 20,000 refugees a year. Despite promises not to discriminate against racial or religious groups. Australia reserves the right to select the DP's she wishes to admit. Britain leads in admitting DP's. Since last July, she has opened her doors to 48,685. Second is Belgium (17,678), followed closely by France, Canada and the US—which admits immigrants individually under the quota system through normal consular channels.

Israel, Promised Land for so many of Europe's Jewish DP's, still remains a promise. IRO's executive secretary, William Tuck, said it will not sponsor any more refugee immigration into Palestine until the UN approves a "properly constituted authority."

Two Birds, One Stone

Not only is the UN finding homes for thousands of homeless refugees and DP's—its International Labor Organization (ILO) is arranging jobs for them. The problem is to speed up migration of workers from countries where there is much unemployment to others where there is a labor shortage.

Large-scale transfer of workers won't start before the end of 1949. Meantime ILO has set up a world clearing house for exchange of information among governments.

"To the Class of '48 . . ."

June is Commencement-time for young Americans. In a message to all graduating classes, UN Secretary-General Trygve Lie spoke these words of faith and hope:

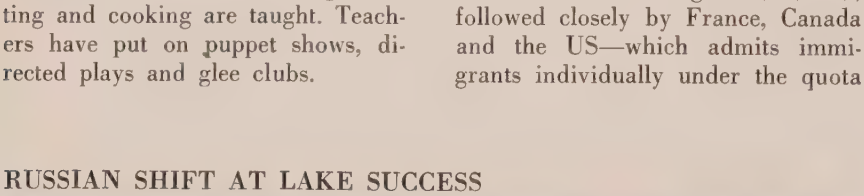
"It is absolutely necessary for everyone of you to appreciate [your] responsibility toward the United Nations and the world. In return the United Nations offers you, and the young people of every country in the world, something that no other generation has ever had. . . . The United Nations is going to succeed because it is in the interest of every nation on earth to have it succeed."

Trustee Trouble

Hottest political item on the agenda of the Trusteeship Council, which opened in mid-June, was South West Africa. Twice the General Assembly has directed the Union of South Africa to submit a trusteeship agreement for it, but the Pretoria government has merely submitted answers to questions on administration of the area, put by the Trusteeship Council last year. It stands pat on its intention to incorporate it into the Union.

In view of the recent electoral defeat of Jan Smuts and the strongly racist and isolationist leanings of the now-dominant Nationalist Party, South Africa will probably continue to flout the General Assembly recommendations on equal treatment of its Hindu population as well as on South

RUSSIAN SHIFT AT LAKE SUCCESS



JACOB MALIK, right, USSR Deputy Foreign Minister, is introduced to Trygve Lie, center, by Andrei Gromyko, for whom he pinch hits this summer. Malik, fresh from Moscow, was plump and pink. Gromyko, lean, pale, needs a vacation (see page 38).

West Africa. There are even misgivings that the Union may withdraw from the UN rather than submit to United Nations pressure.

UN's Publicity

From May 25 to June 3, international information experts met at Lake Success to advise the UN on how better to publicize its activities.

Among those who took part were Mexican Minister Raul Noriega; British newspaperman and Member of Parliament, Vernon Bartlett; Director of the Canadian Broadcasting System, Davidson Dunton; President of the French Film Council, Georges Huisman; Norwegian Minister to the UN, Finn Moe; chairman of the Economic and Social Council, Dr. Charles Malik, of Lebanon (see page 4); Whitelaw Reid, editor of the NEW YORK HERALD TRIBUNE; Thomas J. Hamilton, NEW YORK TIMES correspondent; Alger Hiss, director of the Carnegie Foundation; Hobart Lewis, Assistant Director of INTERNATIONAL READERS DIGEST and Louis Dolivet, UNW's International Editor. They were aided by Assistant Secretary General Benjamin Cohen; Principal Director of Public Information, Tor Gjesdal; top UN radio director Gen. Frank Stoner; Film and Visual Media Director Jean Benoit-Levy and T.A. Raman, editor of the UN Bulletin.

The Committee expressed its firm conviction that emphasis on the positive aspects of the UN and its considerable achievements in the economic, social and political fields, could convince public opinion of the workability of the organization and so give it the necessary support to overcome the present crisis.

The international experts adopted a long list of recommendations. Among them the most important were:

- Induce more newspapers to send correspondents to Lake Success. A press hostel could be built there to cut living expenses.
- Set up a UN radio station. The Committee addressed an A-Priority message to the Secretary General, asking him to recommend prompt action at the next General Assembly to establish three 50 kilowatt dual channel short wave units. These would permit the UN to reach Europe, Africa and Latin America directly and report UN decisions to people everywhere in the world without intermediary interference.
- Appoint a standing committee of experts on publications. It would be competent to deal with editorial problems, visual presentation, production, printing, promotion and distribution.
- Create crews of speakers, both official and voluntary, in member nations. Speaking before clubs, schools, etc., they would further the educational activities of the Department of Public Information. Its weekly clipsheets and background and feature articles already service newspaper and radio editors in 58 nations.

World Court

The world's highest tribunal, the International Court of Justice, recently handed down its first advisory opinion: a member of the UN cannot make its approval of a new member conditional on the admission of a third state.

In specific terms, acceptance of ex-enemy states such as Italy or Bulgaria cannot be based on any agreement by which one would not be accepted without the other. This is what happened in the Security Council over the admission of ex-satellite countries, resulting in Soviet vetoes and the submission of the whole membership problem to the International Court.

Among these eminent jurists, the traditional East-West cleavage was not apparent. France, Poland, Britain, Canada, Yugoslavia and USSR voted against the majority opinion.

The French, Polish, British and Canadian judges joined in a minority dissenting opinion, saying that a state "is legally entitled to make its consent dependent on any political condition which seems to it to be relevant."

The core of the question at The Hague was deeper than the membership. It was: does the Court actually have the right to interpret the UN Charter?

Democracy—Varieties Differ

All 16 members of the Human Rights Commission believe in democracy—but nobody has defined it. The Commission has finally agreed that human rights are limited by "the rights of others and the requirements of general welfare in a democratic society." Ukraine, Byelorussia, Yugoslavia and USSR abstained even from that agreement because they wanted to list specific ingredients of democracy.

The Soviet delegate, white-haired, sable-bearded Aleksei Pavlov, found a bone to pick with the whole draft declaration and draft covenant of human rights prepared last year at

PROBLEM—HOW TO 'SELL' THE UN

AT LAKE SUCCESS, Whitelaw Reid, US, right, Benjamin Cohen, UN, center, and Louis Dolivet, UNW, thresh out a point before a meeting of the Advisory Committee of Information Experts who made the recommendations on UN public relations policies outlined above.

Geneva. Its final approval was the main job of this session of the Commission.

Soviet criticisms: It did not carry on the fight against fascism. It did not give enough guarantees that the rights to education for adults as well as youths (so as to immunize them against propaganda) and to full employment would be heeded. Finally, its provisions against racial discrimination are too weak. He said that the treatment accorded Negroes in US and Indians in South Africa would be punishable by law in the USSR. The declaration, he contended, must be more than purely a pious statement of rights.

France and Chile joined the USSR in urging that the draft declaration protect people against discrimination. This provision was included in the article by a narrow margin; Britain and US objecting. Mrs. Franklin Roosevelt, US delegate and Commission chairman, expressed a fear it might curb freedom of speech.

The Soviets and the Western states were consistent on the basically important issue of the individual and his state, the East emphasizing responsibilities, the West rights.

While experts of the press and radio were planning ways to give better news coverage to the UN (see below), an example of incomplete—and, he felt, slanted—reporting was resentfully cited by Mr. Pavlov.

A New York newspaper, he said, in telling of the adoption of an article for the Declaration on slavery reported that USSR had objected to the article. It did not mention that Pavlov had proposed a stronger version (which was defeated), prohibiting slavery in any form under penalty of law.

The final article, supported by Britain, China, India and France, prohibits slavery but does not provide for penalties.

Short-Lived Love

Austin-Gromyko agreement on Palestine, plus Washington-Moscow "negotiations about negotiating" roused hopes that maybe the US and USSR would finally get together. But neither side seemed particularly happy about standing together even for tiny, tough Israel.

When, on three different occasions, the Security Council switched the same day from Palestine to Czechoslovakia (Chile continuing to press the charge that the Soviets engineered the Communist rise to power in Prague last March) Austin and Gromyko expertly vaulted to opposite sides of the fence again.

Russia stopped the Czech debate with a "double veto." Gromyko first voted that the question of creating a subcommittee to investigate the charge was not one of procedure; then he voted against the investigation itself. Both "no's" were accepted as vetoes after one of the longest procedural wrangles in the Council's history.

We Know You!

A phenomenon of the Palestine debates was the rash of dark glasses which gave the proceedings an E. Phillips Oppenheim atmosphere. Some spectators thought the opaque spectacles helped delegates maintain proper poker faces; others assumed they were to protect eyes from glare; still others attributed the fad to exhibitionism. Principal dark glasses wearers: Mahmoud Fawzi Bey, of Egypt; el Khouri, of Syria; Gromyko. Argentina's Jose Arce offered the only explanation: "So I can look like Faris el Khouri." Arce laughed; then added: "If the Council discusses Czechoslovakia, I take them off. But if it discusses Palestine I sleep comfortably behind them."

Trial Truce

Although most of the shooting has stopped in Kashmir, the Indian-Pakistan dispute is by no means settled.

A truce commission, with representatives from Argentina, Belgium, Colombia, Czechoslovakia and the US, are going to Kashmir to arrange the plebiscite and make peace between both sides.

Both India and Pakistan have refused to abide by some of the directives of the Security Council. Faced with another basic challenge to the UN Charter (others: Palestine, South Africa), the United States is suggesting that the Committee of Experts of the Council determine whether a nation is *obliged* to comply with UN directives in cases of "pacific settlements of disputes" as foreseen by Chapter VI of the Charter.

The Price of War

One of Europe's biggest jobs—which can be filled by large-scale transfer of workers (see above)— is rebuilding of homes. Four and a half million dwellings in 16 countries were either severely damaged or completely destroyed in World War II. In Greece and Poland alone, 20 per cent of all houses were ruined. Since 1945, only 750,000 European dwellings have been repaired or rebuilt.

JEANNE WASHABAUGH

A LADY SPEAKS HER MIND

NO JOKING. Prof. A. Pavlov, black-bearded USSR delegate to the Human Rights Commission, blinks politely as Mrs. Roosevelt, US, recalls their verbal sparring of a heated afternoon. Listening is René Cassin, Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of France.

Arthur Sun's Job Involves Him In The Woes of Job

Arthur K. Sun is a serious-looking young Chinese with thick eye-glasses, a taste for fantasy in neckties, and a mind like Macy's well-stocked shelves. Quite literally, for he is one of six Procurement Officers in the UN Purchase and Supply Department. He has a hand in buying virtually everything needed for 58 delegations and the Secretariat, except their Homburg hats and pin-striped suits.

Mr. Sun is, consequently, a man of many and multiform headaches. Typewriters and frying-pans, shaving brushes, Buick sedans, mail pouches, national flags, fluorescent lights and flowmeters currently furrow his naturally placid brow.

Take typewriters: The French need accent hieroglyphs, acute, circumflex and grave. The Russians require their own Cyrillic alphabet, as do the Serbs. The Chinese carriage runs down, the Arabic from right to left. To Mr. Sun, when a special-typewriter country adds a new stenographer, it means months of waiting for a machine to come from the homeland, or tracking down a stray one here in the States.

His office once found two Arabic typewriters in fair condition in Georgia. Not one to inspect a gift horse too closely, Mr. Sun seems not to have made even casual inquiry about the machines, history and he remains to this day unaware of the fate of the Arabic stenographers who once manned them.

The chief concern of Mr. Sun is not an article's past—romantic or not—but its availability, price and efficiency. He encourages typewriters, particularly the more exotic ones, to outlast their normal span by patronizing constantly a shop at Lake Success which rehabilitates the veterans. UN inherited a supply of mail pouches from UNRRA, and he had them restored to duty by having indelible RRA's laboriously blacked out. "Thrift is our tune," says Mr. Sun.

Flags are a major worry. Most American and European flags are easily come by, but all six Procurement Officers are sometimes stumped to make one for a new country like India, for instance. Even India's own delegate, who was so eager to see it flying in front of the main entrance at Lake Success, didn't know how long and how many the spokes in its central wheel are.

Happily a Chinese diplomat in Washington, just back from India, produced a flag as a model.

Paper cartons carrying UN Bulletins to Europe were another headache for Mr. Sun. Post-offices said the magazines were wrecked because the cartons were flimsy. "We scoured the country far as Carlifornia," he recalled, "to have some nice strong boxes from France copied. Too expensive for this thrifty outfit. So we settle for double layers of cardboard pressed together, instead of the elegant Parisian model."

Tables, desks, briefcases, crockery and cutlery for the cafeteria, equipment for the barbershop are less baffling. Buying such new things is simple. But again, economy's the word. "We have sleuths out to find prewar stuff," says Sun.

Mr. Sun's experience fits him well for his job. After an engineering education at MIT, he became purchasing agent in China for the Government. After Pearl Harbor, he came back to the US for the Chinese Purchasing Commission. In '46, instead of returning home, he suddenly decided to use his skills at the UN and went on the international payroll the day after application.

Buying for the UN is not his only problem. Selling, too, brings many a furrow to Sun's brow. What a UN Survey Committee declares surplus is mostly rubbish, but "we must try to sell it, to get money back," he explains seriously. Dealers sometimes offer fantastic prices for surplus UN cars. The engines may be junk, but they sell if the outside is classy and ambassadors have rattled around in it. A private taxi-driver who cruises in the 50's is wont to turn to his fare to watch for rapt expressions when he tosses off: "Say, you're ridin' in an Arabian prince's car. I bought it off the UN. Changed the brakes but not the cushions."

UN housekeeping presents special problems. The Sperry plant had seen its best days when the UN moved in. Mr. Sun and his associates have to be exceedingly resourceful. The old elevators, fans, furnaces and refrigerating machines often break down. It means scurrying around to locate a special part; sometimes a fan or small motor has to be specially made.

Part of the department's job is negotiating contracts — all sorts — from maintenance of elevators, International Business Machines, news services, to pressing and cleaning of guards' uniforms. This last includes alteration for newly-hired cops. Only if a new guard is really heroic of build can he escape the thrifty hand-me-downs. For him it's cheaper to buy a brand new suit.

All UN crises don't take place on the floor of the Security Council, Sun would have you know. Just getting set for a General Assembly opening at Flushing Meadows means new timing clocks—24 in all—to be put in for radio and television; contracts with window washers, garbage collectors, ice cube suppliers. "Only a few days notice. Headaches!"

But despite hypertension, there are compensations in the life of Mr. Sun. His years in the US have given him an appreciation of the extracurricular Americanism. Last weekend, for instance, he went to visit his son at the Cooperstown Academy. There he spent the afternoon munching peanuts and rooting for his son's side in a game played at baseball's birthplace.

The 320 Rouble Answer

Andrei Gromyko, who has been accused of "no-ing" the UN into an occasional coma, came up with a new way to say no last week. An American reporter, not too hopefully, had asked him to talk on a very delicate political question. "That," joked the reporter, "is what our radio calls the $64 question." The Russian smiled. "Yes, I know. And I have just lost $64."

Military Prowess

The Kashmir debate was solemn, emotional, at times even bitter. Only once was the sober mood broken. Sir Zafrullah Khan, the Pakistan delegate, orating angrily before the Security Council charged that "Sikh soldiers have raped thousands of (Muslim) women." The English-French interpreter, apparently unfamiliar with this Hindu sect, translated: "*Six soldats*, etc. . . ." He got more laughs than Danny Kaye.

EVELYN G. KESSEL

CONCENTRATION

CONVERSATION

So Long, Mr. Gromyko

Going home for a rest, he probably will not escape for long the world spotlight . . . So, for him, it is:

Do Svidaniya, New York

CONTENTION (with Bernard Baruch)

SUSPICION

ATTENTIVE

PUZZLED

QUIZZICAL

TEN OFF-GUARD FACES
OF THE MOST TALKED-ABOUT
DELEGATE TO THE UN—
TAKEN DURING
A TWO-YEAR PERIOD

ARGUMENTATIVE (with US delegate Austin)

SMILING (rare)

STALEMATED (with US alternate delegate Osborn)

LONDON

LONDON ON THAMES: IN MIDSTREAM TWO TUGS AND TOWS HEAD TOWARD TOWER BRIDGE

When athletic prowess palls, the visitor to the 1948 Olympic Games can find within Greater London a multitude of exotic, smaller Londons which few have ever seen

BY TIBOR KOEVES
Travel Editor

Profile of a Timeless City

IN THE LAST 2,000 years two Western cities have won to that topmost position which comes with political, military and financial superiority simultaneously combined. They are Rome and London.

Imperial Rome is a proud but distant memory. Imperial London still stands. World War II destroyed a seventh of the city, scattered most of its wealth over the battlefields of the globe, shrank its Empire. But London withstood that supreme test to remain the sovereign city of our time, the citadel of England with an undaunted will to life.

This summer, for the first time since the war, you may be among the tens of thousands who will visit the landmarks of London's greatness.

If so, you will meet the dead past. In Westminster Abbey you will see the tombs and monuments of rulers, statesmen, generals, poets, the Edwards and Richards, Disraeli, Gladstone, Chaucer, Tennyson. As Washington Irving put it: you will feel surrounded by the consecrated bones of the great men of past times who filled history with their deeds, and the earth with their renown.

You will also meet the present and future. Walk a little way from the Abbey to Whitehall, seat of Government, and observe the gentlemen in striped trousers walking in and out of 10 Downing Street, the Foreign Office, the Colonial Office, the Admiralty, the Treasury. Carrying their dispatch cases with calm self-assurance, they are England's "brain trust," its civil servants and diplomats. The physical assets of earlier generations are gone. Now they dream of making history through a new asset: their own intellectual brilliance.

And, wherever you go in London, you will meet yesterday. Visit the "City," that crowded square mile of medieval alleys and antiquated offices which surrounds Threadneedle Street and the Bank of England. Only the other day this was the financial and commercial capital of the world. Into its banks, brokerage houses, exchanges and insurance firms flowed the riches of Africa, Asia, the Americas — the material basis of English civilization and culture.

Nearby is the tidal estuary of the River Thames, to which London ultimately owes its position as a world capital. Here the Port of London Authority, still one of the chief overseers of international trade, owns 4,200 acres and rules over 61 miles of waterfront.

Sights and Smells

London's docks are fabulous. Every seafaring nation's flag flies here, every firm engaged in overseas trade has its agent or warehouse. The port is a labyrinthine world with its own language and hierarchy, its exotic transients, its unforgettable smell (a blend of oil, spices, salt water and fried fish). Whole buildings are given over to ivory, gums, quicksilver, rubber and other costly wares. Storage vaults for port, sherry and madeira contain no less than 28 miles of passageways.

Other walks are equally satisfying to the senses and the imagination. Stroll through romantic Cheney Walk and admire the simple charm of narrow Georgian houses, half hidden by flowering gardens; this neighborhood was beloved of Turner, Sargeant, Rossetti—artists all—and of the great Carlyle.

Wander down different streets and you will stop before buildings where Ben Jonson, Dickens, Thackeray—and the characters they created—lived and died. Under a shady oak in a quiet square of Bloomsbury, center of student and artistic life, you will recall Virginia Woolf and her intellectual friends, or actor George Arliss.

But whether in Bloomsbury or Whitehall, whether gazing in quiet awe at an ancient cathedral or chatting with a friend in a 1948 flat, you sooner or later will make a discovery: that London, for all its many-sidedness, has a peculiar unity, a mysterious common denominator. It has a style, in the largest sense of the word, and its style is unique.

George Byron Gordon, a lover and historian of the city, once wrote: "The life of London goes on oblivious of its past and heedless of its history, but it goes on secreting a tradition as an organ secretes a product peculiar to itself."

My first night in London I stumbled on the principal element of this tradition. A friend lighted my cigaret for me. Afterward, he handed

me the match he had used. I thought: "In other countries they make cabinets out of wood like this."

What I had then encountered was *quality*, combined with a sense of timelessness. Few things have a briefer useful life than a match, but this one, strong, square and hard, seemed to have been made for half eternity. Luxury in London is not refinement, but joy in outstanding material. Before the war, common stationery could have served for precious first editions, umbrellas, hats, hosiery, tables, chairs, saucepans and dozens of other everyday articles were made to standards most other nations probably never will equal.

Materially and spiritually, time has no end in London. Goods, marriages, friendships, political platforms, careers—none ever is an overnight proposition. When World War II broke out, the Speaker of the House of Commons was over 70; his father had been born in 1804, during the Napoleonic wars. Furnishings, lamps, doorknobs are of a matching antiquity. And human relationships reflect it.

Taxi drivers, unlike those in almost any other city on earth, are both cautious and quiet. Businessmen refrain from bursts of high-pressure energy. Throughout the enormity called Greater London, which covers 693 square miles and shelters some 10,000,000 people, the roar of the metropolis is a murmur.

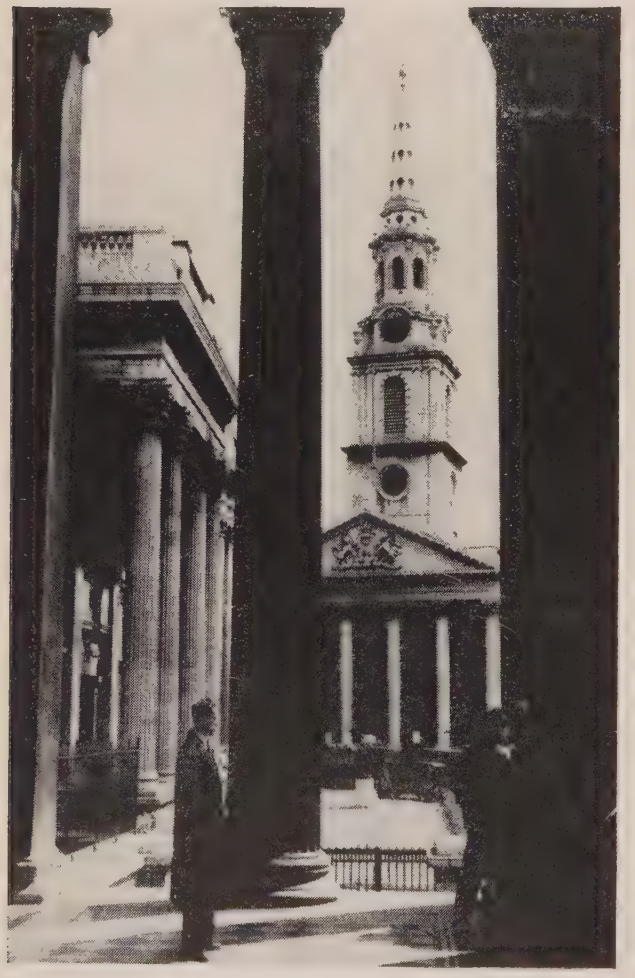
Gooseflesh Production

The Londoner has an almost Chinese racial feeling, an awareness that he is but a link in the endless chain of generations. "Why hurry?" he seems to ask. "I may die tomorrow, but there always will be an England —and London will be its capital."

You will get an idea of Gordon's "secreted tradition" by watching London's children and animals in homes, streets, parks. You will learn that, before adopting social democracy, London practiced moral democracy. This has nothing to do with classes, but everything to do with a wise acceptance of one's duties and rights. Londoners believe one must give as much as one gets, and they breed it into their children and pets.

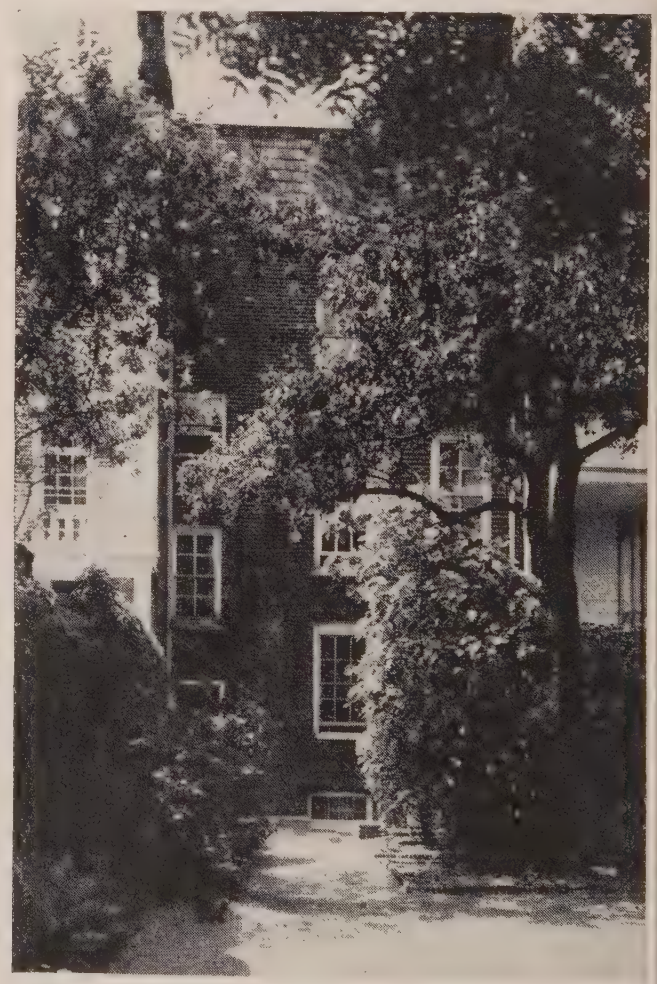
The children enjoy being children; they are in no hurry to grow up, assert themselves, become celebrities. Their cheeks are red, even today, for they constantly are exposed to fresh air and are sent to bed at exceedingly early hours. Their manners are beautiful. They rarely cry or fight, yet they seem just as happy as if they did. London has many a 10-year-old who does not smear jam on his father's flannels, does not put frogs

ONE LONDON—ST. MARTIN-IN-THE-FIELDS



NOT TREE TRUNKS but columns at the entrance of the National Gallery frame the elaborate spire and lion-and-unicorn facade of this famous old church on Trafalgar Square.

ANOTHER LONDON—CARLYLE'S HOME



GEORGIAN, of red brick, with mansard roof and many-paned windows, it stands near the Thames in Southwest London. It is typical of that well-known quiet artistic atmosphere of Chelsea.

in his sister's bed, breaks neither windows nor heads—and still goes to sleep serene and unfrustrated.

As for pets, dogs, at least, find their earthly paradise in Kensington Gardens. Here every dog may run freely without a leash, and neither he nor his master suffers nervous shock if the dog strays on the grass. Here a dog realizes his destiny: to run, sniff, play, commune with trees, flowers, bushes, scents.

Like rabies, the spiritual afflictions some dogs catch from their masters are unknown in England. This does not mean that the Englishman's nervous system is impregnable; but, before he makes a scene, he sends his dog as well as his child from the room. Thus Kensington Gardens seldom witnesses growling or fighting. If even a puppy becomes too mischievous, his master will say, quietly but firmly, "I don't think it's allowed"—and the pup pulls in his tail and behaves.

London tames everyone, including foreigners, children and animals. But it has not been able to tame Nature.

On bad days the chill wind whistles down from the North Sea, and fog rolls in from the Channel. The Londoner does nothing about it. Stoves and ovens would be a great comfort, but the heat (if any) comes from an open fireplace, where you toast your toes while your back freezes. Even this is lacking in bedrooms, which go utterly unheated except in a few new apartment houses. Meanwhile, bathroom windows stand open, winter and summer. Though influenza, rheumatism and neurasthenia flourish, the Londoner continues to bare his breast to the elements. Of course, he is cold. His back aches and his knees creak. But it is not in his code to complain. Rather, he becomes morose and distant, and when his frame of mind brings on antisocial tendencies he takes them out in detective stories or movie thrillers. The subject has not been explored, but surely there is a connection between London's weather and the fact that Londoners write the world's best crime books.

Still, there are many days when the sun beams down, the sky is a soft clear blue, the flowers and grass wear a brighter glow than flowers and grass ever were meant to. Then London comes alive with its own special warmth. You will see that, and feel it. Above all you will sense that London, city of contradictions, now regal and compelling, now austere and lonely, typifies the British way of life.

London never has had the supranational, universal appeal of Rome, Paris, even New York. Its inbred civilization stops where the Thames meets the Channel. Different standards are applied to other nations. But within that limitation London is perhaps the world's greatest urban achievement—a city which permits a life as noble and full as man's own nature will allow.

TRAVEL INTELLIGENCE

A NEW TYPE OF TRAVEL will be inaugurated this summer—the conducted political tour. UNITED NATIONS WORLD will sponsor the innovation as a service to its readers. Designed as a combination ringside seat and seminar on world affairs, the tour will have as its goal Paris, and as its function the promotion of international understanding.

It will be, in effect, a seminar on the General Assembly of the United Nations, which will convene in Paris on September 21. The project will enable visitors to observe the settlement of momentous problems in the great city which, often before, has been the scene of weighty international deliberations.

Pressing requests from educators, students of world affairs, religious leaders, clubwomen, and others who are vitally interested in international relations persuaded UNITED NATIONS WORLD to arrange special group visits to Paris and the General Assembly.

The tours will be directed by Tourist International Association. Louis Dolivet, International Editor of UNW and author of "The United Nations—A Handbook on the New World Organization," will direct the educational activities of the group.

Members of the tour will enjoy special advantages and privileges. The program includes attendance at General Assembly sessions, informal talks with members of delegations, an official reception, incomparable opportunities to see behind the scenes of international diplomacy.

The US party will be joined in Paris by similar groups from Canada, the British Isles, Belgium, Holland, Switzerland, Luxembourg, Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Italy, etc. This will afford an opportunity for association of internationally minded men and women of various nations.

The tour is designed to last 20 days (12 days if one travels by air) but it may be extended by supplementary side trips to Geneva, European headquarters of the UN, and to other European cities.

UNITED NATIONS WORLD believes that personal participation and personal experience are the best ways to bring home the importance of the UN. That is the guiding idea which prompted the organization of this unique tour.

WHEN IN LONDON . . .

The Olympic Games will be held in London from July 29 through August 14. Here are a few suggestions of other sights to see outside London:

STRATFORD-ON-AVON. The Shakespeare theater festival. Distance: 103 miles. Third-class return ticket, about $6.

OXFORD. Beautiful colleges 400-500 years old. Distance: 63 miles. Third-class return fare, about $3.75.

WINDSOR. Famous castle and other historic buildings. Distance: 22 miles. Fare, $1.50.

ISLE OF WIGHT. Fabulous resort island off the southeast coast. Distance (London to Ventnor): 92 miles. Fare, about $6.

CANTERBURY. World-famed Cathedral. Distance: 63 miles. Fare, $3.75.

CAMBRIDGE. University. Distance: 56 miles. Fare, about $3.10.

BRIDGEND. Welsh National Eisteddfod (musical festival) August 2-7. Distance: 166 miles. Fare, about $9.50.

EDINBURGH. Scotland's capital. Distance: 400 miles. Fare, about $22.
British hotel prices are from about $2.50 to $4 a day. The inns, some quite lovely, charge less.

BY BILL RICHARDSON
Foreign correspondent in Paris

BLACK MARKET ART

In Europe

How and why Continental painting—good, bad and phony—is going underground with the hoodlums

A REAL Modigliani, his Anna de Zbrowska, is a treasure bequeathed to the New York Museum of Modern Art in 1931.

IF YOU were to overhear one of Al Capone's successors in a grimy Chicago bar talking out of the corner of his mouth about Renoir's rose nudes or Picasso's blue period, you wouldn't believe it. If, in Paris, you hear the same type of underworld character talking just that way—believe it.

For a new kind of art patron has appeared on the Continent. He has plenty of money and he speaks with authority of brushwork, shading and composition. But his background is one of hijacking, smuggling, black marketeering and all sorts of profitable skullduggery. He is a hoodlum who made his money in illegal transactions, and who now finds in paintings his safest form of liquid, portable assets.

Here's how it works. Recently the Bank of France tried to flush out the shady traders by recalling all 5,000-franc notes outstanding. On a Friday morning it was announced that the notes no longer were legal tender and must be turned in, for future redemption, within 72 hours. This disturbed those who had acquired bundles of the big bills in crooked dealings and had failed to report them as income. But the wise ones had seen the Bank call coming, and they had an "out."

Thus the next three days—Saturday, Sunday and Monday—saw a veritable paroxysm of interest in art. At suddenly doubled and redoubled prices, dealers disposed of scores of Renoirs, Utrillos and other valuable modern works. This left the dealers holding a good many 5,000-franc notes, but they could prove that they had come by them legally.

Not only dealers profited. Some illegal operators, early birds, having previously invested as heavily as they could in dollars, pounds and jewelry, had put the surplus into art. On the fatal Saturday, one such foresighted bad citizen sold his entire collection of paintings for some 10,000,000 francs in "honest" 5,000-franc bills. Incidentally, he cleared a profit of about 7,000,000 francs.

This is a small sample of Europe's new, ironic art renaissance. Operators who made millions or billions of francs, marks and lire in commodities from cheese to dollars have turned to paintings as the perfect *cache* for their loot. Most continental nations have made it increasingly difficult to invest in jewelry or dollars; such transactions fall under close official scrutiny, and require payment of almost confiscatory taxes. But the purchase of paintings—no matter at what inflated prices—is legal and convenient. Result: the galleries of Europe have been invaded by collectors wearing the race-track suits and ten-liter hats of the well-dressed black marketeer.

Though the new activity is heard in Marseille, Naples and other cities, its focus is Paris. And almost overnight Paris has ceased to be the honest art dealer's bargain counter. Today, despite distance and tariffs, a Picasso or a Rouault can be bought along Manhattan's 57th Street or Los Angeles' Wilshire Boulevard almost as cheaply as in the most ramshackle gallery of the French capital.

What this means to the dealers is illustrated by the case of a man who, just before the war, made a meager living as a tailor. An art-collecting customer owed him money; the tailor collected by taking several paintings. From that beginning he has built up one of Paris' top galleries.

There are other cases. During the Nazi occupation the major French painters fled to the unoccupied

Vichy zone. With foreign markets cut off, their output was available at low prices indeed. Two or three obscure dealers who bought them are now ranked among the leaders.

Today, however, the black market in art involves not only racketeers but also perfectly respectable businessmen. One former banker whose business was wrecked by the Germans managed a bit of *arbitrage* (speculation in foreign currencies) with very satisfactory results. He put the profits right into paintings.

"The way things are in Europe now," he explains, "one never knows what will happen next. Suppose there is a war. Suppose the franc loses its value. Obviously the only thing to do is collect items of stable worth. Paintings are the answer because they are easy to carry. In case of real trouble, you've got to be able to move fast. That's a lesson every refugee has learned since Hitler came to power. Well, you can take a canvas out of its frame, roll it up and get away like *that*."

Smugglers' Tricks

Understandably, the French Government has strong views on unauthorized export of valuable works of art. Official permission supposedly is needed—and hard to get. But smuggling is simple. Hundreds of *tableaux* have passed into Switzerland hidden in automobiles or under sleeping-car mattresses. One man painted over a large oil with white washable paint and transported it openly as a "screen for a movie projector." Other rare works have been disguised by apparently amateurish scenes done in removable gouache. Sometimes just a changed signature fools the customs men. One woman I know of entered Switzerland with a Renoir concealed in a baby's collapsible rubber bath.

Even the American Army abetted the art black market (though it devoted more time to German automobiles, watches and cameras). Dozens of paintings stolen by the Nazis were found by GI's, brought back to Paris and resold. Only last winter the artist Marc Chagall ran across one of his own canvases in a Paris gallery. An art-wise GI had paid three cartons of cigarets for it in Germany and sold it in Paris for 300,000 francs. By the time Chagall saw it, the price had risen to 700,000.

Stolen art still is a hazard to 1948 buyers—yet in France this is nothing new. Some provincial *chateaux* have been packed for a century and a half with Old Masters brought back by Napoleon's lieutenants. Frenchmen laughed rather cynically when they saw American soldiers concentrating on cameras.

The Germans were not so stupid. Take the big Berlin dealer who now runs an "art speakeasy," patronized by top officials of the three Western occupying powers. He saw it all coming. A tailor by trade (tailors seem to have an eye for art), he had been accustomed to visiting the homes of high Nazis for fittings, and noting the value of their Ming vases, and Persian tapestries.

In April, 1945, as Berlin was being pulverized by the American hammer and the Russian anvil, the tailor visited his erstwhile customers. "Just leave this in my safekeeping," he would suggest, pointing to an oil or a vase. Some complied on the spot; others demurred. In such cases he merely waited until they had fled and took what he wanted.

In Paris nowadays the art black market is most active in the so-called Modern Masters, painters who date from the Impressionist period (latter 19th century). The true Old Masters are too well known to museum experts; even some of the Impressionists, such as Van Gogh and Degas, are in the same category. Other Impressionists like Renoir and Toulouse-Lautrec are much safer, for these turned out so many canvases that they never have been completely catalogued. Among more modern artists, most popular are Modigliani, Picasso, Matisse, Utrillo, and Braque.

The Certification Problem

Because so many stolen paintings still are circulating, many black marketeers who have bought heavily are in an embarrassing spot. They cannot get certificates of authenticity without risking the charge of receiving stolen goods. One American bought $40,000 worth of modern art in Germany, took it to Paris and found that no respectable gallery would buy from him without the certificates. He was a bit put out, because he couldn't take his paintings to an expert—he had "bought" them for 300 cartons of cigarets. Finally he smuggled half of them to Switzerland and Italy and got rid of them.

Another hazard the racketeers face is that of buying fakes. But the smart boys have armed themselves with enough knowledge to be reasonably safe on that score. "If they were more ignorant," a not-too-scrupulous Paris dealer complains, "we'd be able to sell them reproductions for originals." The best trade in fakes, of course, involves the purported work of painters now dead. Those still alive generally can identify their own work.

The current art hysteria even has affected limited illustrated and illuminated editions of books. Such works always fetched good prices, but today some firms specialize in editions retailing for as much as 150,000 francs a copy (and much more on the black market). The reason is simple: the books contain exclusive drawings by some of the great contemporary artists. One major French painter is quoted as saying that he makes more on a single limited edition—a few weeks' work—than in a whole year of his regular labor on canvas.

Painters' El Dorado

Evidently some artists have succumbed to the black-market jackpot and are helping it along in their own way. But experts say that even today's frenzied buying should not lower the standards of modern art. They point out that the post-1940 rich rarely like the unfamiliar, so some of the lesser painters have reverted to simple naturalism. For example, one Italian artist, Gregorio Sciltian, never has been exhibited in Paris or New York, yet his canvases sell for 1,000,000 lire and up. His Milan dealer explains: "People can understand what he paints."

Meanwhile the top painters are working no harder than ever. For years their agents have released their works gradually to keep the supply scarce and prices high. It is said of Picasso, for instance, that only a few of his finished canvases ever reach the galleries. "Otherwise," insiders say, "his prices would start toppling in no time."

Neither the painters nor their agents would want that. Nor would the new class of art lovers—the hard-boiled, tough-talking citizens to whom a Renoir nude, for all its form and grace and delicate brushwork, looks remarkably like a tax-free, gilt-edged bond.

Why Americans Buy the Kinsey Report

(which few can understand)

BY MARYNIA FARNHAM, M.D.
Co-author of "Modern Woman: the Lost Sex"

A famous Psychiatrist analyzes five reasons—of which the least is objective interest in the sexual behavior of men—and the greatest is anxiety lest the buyer be 'not normal'

DR. KINSEY AT WORK—INTERVIEWING AN AMERICAN MALE

LARGELY unheralded, entirely "unpromoted" by its sober, unspecting medical publishers, the so-called "Kinsey Report" has met with an acceptance eager almost beyond belief. Published in January, 1948, it ran through five printings in a month. It rapidly climbed into the nation's best seller lists and stayed there. The 250 thousandth copy has just come off the press. It continues to sell and to outsell many more entertaining, even exciting, rivals.

An examination of this imposing volume, the publisher's full title of which is SEXUAL BEHAVIOR IN THE HUMAN MALE*, will scarcely make immediately evident the reason for such popularity. It is heavy with long tables, technical presentations of data which are undoubtedly puzzling to those not familiar with statistical method. Even the simpler bar and curve graphs describing the mean frequency of various types of sexual behavior cannot be described as "easy going."

Nevertheless the book was greeted with great excitement and serious concern by press and critics, all of whom were impressed.

Critiques of it have been brought out in book form. It has been examined from various points of view. One hails it as the sexual bill of rights. Another denounces it as an invitation to license.

None of this kind of hullaballoo, however, has in the past necessarily meant conspicuous success in the book stores for an expensive, heavy, volume. How, then, can one account for the astonishing distribution this book has achieved?

Certain obvious considerations come quickly to mind.

1. It offers presumably valid, scientific answers to the curious. The title alone is challenging and provocative. It boldly states that the book will expose the ways in which the male behaves sexually. This immediately sets up a receptive response in all those many people who have always had a deeply unsatisfied curiosity about sexual matters.

The fact that the book has been presented as giving the accurate results of personal interviews confers upon it the ultimate essence of validity. It aids readers to presume that they are going to the fountainhead of knowledge, there to get answers to their many questions.

No doubt many of them have been sadly disillusioned and, having bought the book, failed to read it when they found it so difficult and so full of scarcely understandable data. Nevertheless there is little

*By Dr. Alfred Kinsey, W. B. Saunders Co., Philadelphia, $6.50.

doubt that this call to the curious has been in no small measure an important factor in promoting its unusual popularity.

2. It has the fascination of the tabooed. Americans, like most other peoples of western society, have long been under the influence of strong taboos and directives about sexual knowledge.

In spite of the enormous changes which have taken place in the last 30 years in respect to the tolerance for the dissemination of sexual information, we are still not free of our long-standing prejudice against it as being likely to impair the chastity of the young. Sexual information has therefore all the fascination and allure of anything which is hedged around by restrictions and taboos.

More than that, sexuality, being all pervasive—the root of life itself—the attraction of the tabooed knowledge is marvelously enhanced. Many people may have a great curiosity about atomic fission or international relations or the poetry of Spencer, but *everyone* has a great curiosity about the sexual side of life. For everyone this curiosity stems from his need to understand his own origins and out of this curiosity and its conversion and sublimation still other curiosities spring.

It is eminently natural and expected, then, that such a volume as this will have a wide appeal with its promise, once and for all, to give the right answers to all dubious sexual questions.

3. It has intellectual-snob appeal. This potent force undoubtedly stemmed from the great promise the book held out, and that was not neglected in the reviews and criticisms, that it exposed as widespread many deviations from supposedly normal practices.

"Supposedly" is the proper word here. It means only those practices and attitudes which are accepted and approved, and takes no account of whether or not they are "normal." Hardly anyone failed to make note of the fact that there was considerable evidence produced to show a very large incidence of homosexual practices as well as of other largely frowned upon so-called perversions.

This is the sort of thing that makes this volume a natural successor to PSYCHOPATHIA SEXUALIS, which was an absolute "must" for avant-guardistic college students of the 20's. Supposedly containing esoteric lore and a vast exposé of practices widely shuddered at, it easily becomes the object of a kind of furtive and leering curiosity on the part of those who regard everything sexual as tainted and take particular delight in having their convictions confirmed.

The number of such buyers must be estimated as considerable.

4. It offers objective, scientifically collected data. It must not be denied that there is a certain group to whom this investigation has value because of its objective professional interests. Such a group provides the most serious and thoughtful audience that the book gets. But it is far too small to have had any considerable effect in making it a best-seller month after month

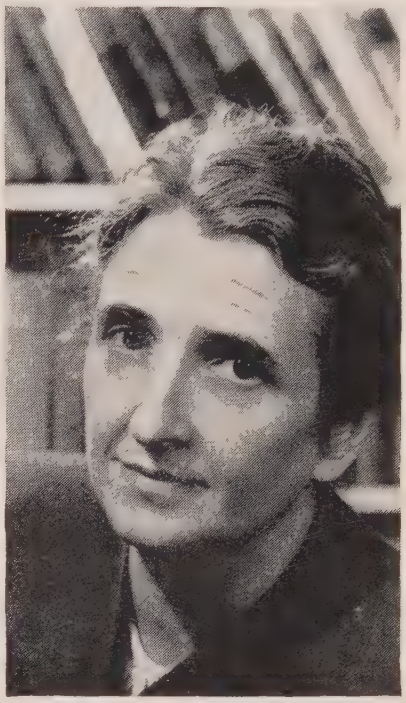
5. It offers relief from anxiety. All the previously discussed factors undoubtedly had a pronounced effect on the popularity of Dr. Kinsey's book. But probably beyond all of them, and partly overlapping most of them, is a much deeper and more unconscious factor which has exerted the greatest influence. This is the capacity of such a book to act as an alleviant of anxiety.

This sort of anxiety which can be taken care of by such reading is not generally realized; its possessor would be the first to deny that he was in any way anxious or disturbed about his sexual life. It is nevertheless true that an enormous number of people are deeply concerned about their own sexual strivings and expressions.

There is one thing that people want more than anything else: to be labelled "normal." But, in order to be sure that one is normal, one must first find a definition of "normal" itself.

Almost everyone at sometime or other will find himself faced with wishes and demands, his own or a partner's, which arouse in him doubt and fear. He has been brought up with a profound feeling that there is a right and wrong about sex. The right is the normal, and he must strive to adhere accurately to the line. And yet every human being in the course of development has probably met and *not* conquered their wrong impulses.

Take for example the problem of masturbation which in the index to the Kinsey report has no less than 177 page references. This is a conspicuous amount of space devoted to a practice so widely deplored and



DR. FARNHAM HAS AN ANSWER

the source of such extensive distress and self-doubt.

Somewhat the same holds true for all the generally deplored and widely denied practices such as homosexual outlets and intercourse with prostitutes. The chapter on Homosexual Outlets is 56 pages long, while that on intercourse with prostitutes is 14 pages.

None of Dr. Kinsey's findings were enormously surprising to those who deal with human beings professionally — psychiatrists, psychologists, social workers and the like. But to the average individual, who has grown up in ignorance of the sexual behavior of those around him, and who has suffered a great deal of anxiety during this developmental period about his own sexual behavior, they come with particular force. That force is not unpleasurable. Quite the contrary.

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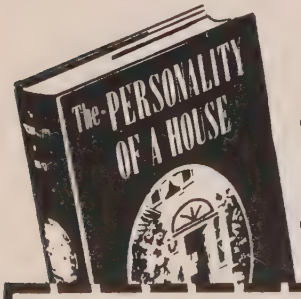

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All the things that so many people have believed secretly were special to themselves and particularly shameful are revealed in this book as being commonplace and widespread.

Many a boy has grown up with the belief that no other boy of his group masturbated. He consequently regarded himself with shame and loathing and felt isolated and outside of the group unity. The same must hold true of the frequent adolescent homosexual expressions so generally regarded with horror and aversion as the stigmata of the abnormal and perverse.

Naturally such secrecy and ignorance tend to isolate people and make them feel rejected and unfit for group acceptance. This in turn arouses deep anxiety, for the human being has a strong need to "belong," to feel himself an accepted member of a group which for him is the "in-group."

Out of such belonging, human beings derive their deepest sense of security. Without it they feel lost and alone. Everyone seeks to belong. To be rejected is catastrophe. It is no less tragic when it is the individual who, out of a sense of guilt and differentness, rules that he is unfit to belong.

So it is that for the individual, who has felt himself a pariah because of his supposed sexual abnormality, to discover that there are very many people like him is to discover that he is no longer alone. This must of necessity have the effect of greatly lessening his feelings of anxiety and separateness and greatly increasing his sense of self-esteem and self-respect.

It is to these groups, then, that we must look for an explanation of the tremendous sales—if not popularity—of Dr. Kinsey's book. For to them—the ignorant and curious, the ignorant and prurient, the frightened and isolated—though not to those objectively concerned with the behavior of human beings—SEXUAL BEHAVIOR IN THE HUMAN MALE has emotional meaning and value.

Even to all the many millions who have not paid that $6.50 out of prurience or fear, the work must have intellectual significance. For it is a courageous attempt to approach with objectivity and scientific dispassion the aspect of human behavior most tangled and distorted by prejudice and superstition.

Self-Portrait of a General

A COLLECTION OF REVEALING EISENHOWER COMMENTS ON SOLDIERS AND CIVILIANS—WAR AND PEACE

Eisenhower Speaks.
A selection of his speeches and messages. Edited by Rudolph L. Treuenfels. Farrar Straus & Co., New York, $3.

There is an "Ike legend" abroad in this country about a military man adorned by almost saintly virtues: sincerity, humility, humaneness, exceptional tact. Not planned, organized and exploited by political parties or press agents, the sincerity of the nationwide admiration for General Eisenhower is above suspicion. As a matter of course, many have accepted the legend on the strength of scattered articles and anecdotes rather than of first-hand evidence.

Eisenhower's selected speeches perform the service of furnishing, if not a complete record, at least sufficient material for measuring the legend against his own words.

The first thing that strikes the reader is the recurring proof that the Supreme Commander who won history's greatest war refuses to consider life from the special viewpoint of a professional soldier. Eisenhower is a rare bird among the great generals. In his perspective, war is only one function of societies and it is a sad and regrettable one.

Eisenhower's wider horizon does of course not mean that he forgets the inescapable duty of societies to educate good soldiers.

In Eisenhower's view, citizens must stand fast in war, but only to preserve the higher values of a full civic life, an attitude reminiscent of classical Greece.

It is evident from his speeches that this victorious general never considered the recent global contest as "his own war." He speaks of the "bosses for whom I worked," and nothing is further from his mind than clinging to power. "My policy-making job ended when the last shot was fired," he declared to newspapermen on June 16, 1945. "I am now pro-counsel for my Government in a region where I am going to do what I am told."

Instead of considering the war as his private show (as Africa was Rommel's and Montgomery's, and Japan, MacArthur's), Eisenhower insists that the real hero was GI Joe, the simple soldier. He has a palpable horror of being separated from his men and singled out as a leader whose genius created miracles while the boys who boiled in the tanks and shivered in the rain and sleet were mere instruments.

To the mind of this reviewer, Eisenhower's love for his men is not only unassailably sincere, but it reveals the most important trait of his character: his necessity to

share sorrow and glory with companions who, like him, have done their bit well. If put on a lonely pedestal, this warm-hearted leader would freeze to death.

Strong, gay, generous and competent, the man revealed in these speeches seems miraculously to approximate the ideal of the Twentieth Century American as it slowly emerges from the myths of our times. One puts down this volume with the thought that Eisenhower the man looks very like Eisenhower the legend.

TIBOR KOEVES

The Green World of the Naturalists

Selected and annotated by Victor Wolfgang von Hagen. New York, Greenberg: Publisher. $5.00

Here is a rich and fascinating book on man's observations and impressions of Latin America from the time of its discovery to the present century. Victor von Hagen has selected the writings of an imposing list of travelers to the New World, explorers, chroniclers, missionaries, pirates, scientists, men of letters whose fancy was caught by its animal and insect life, its vegetation, the majesty of its mountains, the vastness of its jungles and rivers.

• Gaspar de Carvajal was one of two friars who in the 16th century accompanied Francisco de Orellana on his discovery of the Amazon.

• Lionel Wafer was ship's surgeon to Captain Cook and after a leg injury spent four months among the Indians of Darien, taking copious notes on the inhabitants and the animal and plant life.

• La Condamine of the Academie des Sciences collected the first samples of quinine bark and rubber and was the first to map the Amazon river accurately.

• There was Oviedo, who served as colonial administrator and later chronicler of the Indies. His rich store of information (everything concerning discoveries in the newfound continent passed through his hands) resulted in the first natural history of the New World.

• Edward Whymper, alpinist, was the first to climb Ecuador's loftiest peak, Chimborazo.

• There were also the more familiar figures of Humboldt, Beebe and Darwin. And literary figures like the Englishman H. M. Tomlinson and Herman Melville.

The anthology is divided into five sections, one for each century, each with an illuminating introduction tracing the slow unfolding of the southern continent.

The 16th century was exclusively Spanish. The pirates had begun to break Spain's monopoly by the 17th century. In the 18th, the French gained a foothold in the continent in return for Louis XVI's assistance to Philip V of Spain in getting his throne. The 19th century, following the defeat of Spain in America, was the "explorers' century." By the 20th most of the exploring had been done and the writing takes a contemplative, interpretative turn. In addition to his introductions the editor has included a short biographical sketch of each author.

A.P.

The Two Worlds of Marcel Proust

by Harold March, Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, $3.50.

"There are two worlds, one the world of time, where necessity, illusion, suffering, decay and death are the law; the other the world of eternity, where there is freedom, beauty and peace." That is the opening note of Harold March's new study on Proust. In addition to furnishing full data on the personal life and private papers of his subject, Mr. March has traced the effect of events and people on Proust's complex personality — and on his writings. March achieves, in effect, a psychological explanation of the countless hours Proust spent writing and rewriting, perfecting each sentence, — producing word pictures which have the same delicacy as vignettes on ivory and the same penetration as etching acid on copper. This book is for anyone interested in human behavior.

P. M.S.

Americans From Hungary

by Emil Lengyel. (In "The Peoples of America" Series, edited by Louis Adamic.) Philadelphia, Lippincott, $4.00.

The cavalcade of Hungarian immigrants to the U. S. is presented in an uncritical but properly entertaining manner by Dr. Lengyel who is one of them among the most successful. Probably most illuminating is the part devoted to Hungarian immigrants' contributions to American science. Henry Ford was aided by József Galamb in perfecting his first motor car. Tivadar Puskás was among Edison's closest and most cherished collaborators. Later comers include Maj. Gen. Theodor von Kármán, one of the world's foremost authorities on aerodynamics; John von Neumann, described as "the greatest mathematician of the age"; Dr. Béla Schick, discover of the diphteria susceptibility test; Franz Alexander, psychiatrist and psychologist of renown; three of the five most famous atomic scientists, Dr. Leo Szilárd, Dr. Eugene P. Wigner, and Prof. E. Teller, were of Hungarian origin.

A remarkable performance for a country which has a quota of just 869 immigrants a year.

The Goebbels Diaries

Introduction and notes by Louis P. Lochner. New York, Doubleday, $4.00.

A world that once stood in awe and some admiration before the suspected genius of Josef Goebbels must feel let down upon reading the pages torn somewhat arbitrarily from the fragmentary diaries of Hitler's Propaganda Minister. The mind that is revealed in the Diaries is uncouth and petty. The undeniable power Goebbels held over millions was in his affinity with the lowest and the basest in his audience.

Nowhere can this reviewer find signs of true intellectual power, of genuine humanistic knowledge or an understanding of history. A despicable book by a repulsive little man, the Goebbels Diaries have a place on the shelf of genuine historical research only to remind how deeply he sank during the shameful decade of Hitler.

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Psychological Warfare
by Paul M. A. Linebarger. Washington, D. C. Infantry Journal Press, $3.50.

This commendable attempt to tell the whole and fascinating story of psychological warfare meets with but partial success in this book. With considerable industry but inadequate understanding, Major Linebarger has produced a cross between a manual and a history, which is neither. Above all, the intellectual qualities and characteristics of psychological warfare are permitted to vanish in a mass of technical data. The important problem of Soviet propaganda is given superficial treatment despite the impressive data available. Thus the book, already incomplete in its handling of the past, loses much if not all of its topical or prognostic value.

L. F.

Nomad
by Robin Maugham. New York, The Viking Press, $2.75.

A whimsical, melancholy little volume, valuable for its revelations of the intrigues which British Intelligence operates in the Near East. The Foreign Office, curiously is presented in the role of the indignant dowager who appears permanently scandalized by virile and irrepressible young people practicing, with Arab aid, the facts of life.

L. F.

Reflections on the World Today
by Paul Valéry. Pantheon Books, N. Y. $3.50.

Among the confusions created by professional politicians and diplomats, the ability of the professional philosopher to observe accurately and to predict human events comes almost as a shock. "Europe will be punished for her policy . . . Europe obviously aspires to be governed by an American committee. Her entire policy is aimed toward that end." So wrote Paul Valéry in 1926.

Several chapters of Valéry's book make one wonder about the utter primitivity of our governmental systems which pursue day by day policies or, at the best, five year plans, apparently unable or unwilling to see beyond tomorrow or the day after. Valéry, by contrasts is capable of a detachment which would have been appreciated by Socrates. His very approach makes the reader prepare to receive the truth. This book should be required mental exercise for whomever the gods or the ironies of politics have elevated to influence in the destinies of nations.

Nehru on Ghandi
by Jawaharlal Nehru. New York, The John Day Company, $2.00.

This little book is a compilation of those portions of Nehru's writings which deal with Mahatma Ghandi. It is not an encomium of a dead leader (except in small part—see the eulogy he delivered at Ghandi's funeral and which was first published in UN WORLD in May) but an appraisal of the living Ghandi by his "beloved disciple."

The excerpts elucidate Ghandi's teachings as philosopher, social reformer and politician; his conception of *ahimsa*, or non-violence, as a positive weapon more becoming to man's dignity than the violence of brutes; his detestation of religious dogmas that erect caste barriers and deny the rights of women; his amazing knack for grasping the mood of millions of people and utilizing that mood for political ends.

Special stress is laid upon the great nationalist's internationalism, his conviction that a world federation—"voluntary interdependence"—is the only right goal of nations.

But Nehru by no means pretends to understand Ghandi: "What a problem and a puzzle he has been not only to the British Government but to his own people, and his closest associates!" he cries, and is hard put to it to puzzle out the paradox of a man who was both reactionary and revolutionary.

Arranged so that the events touched upon appear in chronological sequence, the book is also a brief restatement of the course of India's struggle for self-government since Ghandi first appeared on the Indian scene in 1916, throughout his long years as "permanent super-president" of the Indian National Congress, up to his death shortly after independence was achieved. The last few excerpts are an infinitely moving crystallization of India's and the world's grief at his passing.

B.S.

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Charter For The Americas

MARSHALL SPEAKS FOR THE US AT BOGOTA

May 1, Bogota. Three basic documents signed as the outcome of Pan-American Conference.

(a) Charter of the Organization of American States, adopted as a regional agreement under the Charter of UN, and giving organic status to the Pan-American Union.

(b) Resolution on American Colonies, declaring that "an end be put to colonialism and to occupation of American territories by extracontinental countries."

(c) Declaration on Defense of Democracy, which "Condemns, in the name of the law of nations, interference of any foreign power, or any political organization serving the interests of a foreign power, in the public life of the nations of the Amercan continent." (115:48)

FRANCO-SPANISH TRADE PACT

May 1, Madrid. 1. Commercial agreement between France and Spain effective May 15, providing for a commodity exchange of 1,500,000,000 pesetas, at the rate of 19.63 francs to the peseta.

2. For certain commodities for which the exporter will be compensated from import duties, as was done in oranges, cork and olive exports in the past, the Spanish export exchange rate will be 13 francs to the peseta.

3. France will export phosphates, iron and steel, electrical and industrial equipment, trucks, buses and farm machinery.

4. Spain will send France citrus fruits, fish, wines and assorted minerals and metals, such as pyrites, lead, pitchblende, mercury and antimony. (116:48)

USSR PROTESTS TO COLOMBIA

May 2, Moscow. Protest armed attack on house in which members of the Soviet legation were lodged in Bogota on April 12. (117:48)

COLOMBIA BREAKS RELATIONS WITH USSR

May 3, Bogota. In a note handed the Soviet Legation the Colombian Government announced rupture of diplomatic relations with the USSR. (118:48)

HUNGARIAN OUTLAW BILL PASSED

May 4, Budapest. All Hungarians refusing to return to Hungary to be deprived of their citizenship and property, and similar provisions for their families. (119:48)

US-USSR EXCHANGE OF NOTES

May 4, Moscow. Note to Molotov by Ambassador W. B. Smith clarifying US position on foreign affairs criticizes Soviet expansionist policies declaring that it would be a mistake to think that the American people "would not react strongly and vigorously to the progressive domination by one country of its neighbors and the clear threat to the world community which such actions would imply." . . . However "the US had no desire whatever to see the world divided into two major groupings, nor to divert a large part of its income to the maintenance of a military establishment." He goes on to clarify the firm stand of the American people on foreign policy and on ERP. In regard to the US desire for peace he states, ". . . my Government wishes to make clear that the US has no hostile or aggressive designs whatever with respect to the Soviet Union. Assertions to the contrary are falsehoods which can result only from complete misunderstanding or malicious motives . . ."

"As far as the US is concerned, the door is always wide open for full discussion and the composing of our differences." (120:48)

May 11, Moscow. Soviet reply: Explains Soviet attitude toward Eastern European countries as justifiable, and declares there has been no curtailment of democracy in any of these countries. Cites US strengthening of relationships with Canada, Mexico and other American countries. Objects to military alliance of Western European countries sponsored by US. Declares USSR interested in economic rehabilitation of Eastern Europe. Is happy to welcome US declaration of desire for peace. (121:48)

May 11, Washington. Statement by Truman declares there has been no change in US foreign policy. (122:48)

May 12, Washington. Marshall statement to press declares that Smith statement was a reaffirmation of US policy and that any problems which might arise between the two countries should be taken up in the UN Security Council or in the Council of Foreign Ministers, where such problems must by right be considered. (123:48)

May 12, New York. Wallace open letter to Stalin declares: (1) The Cold War must stop; (2) It is to the advantage of both US and USSR to have an economically sound world within UN; (3) Demands a speedy peace with Germany; (4) Requests peace in the Far East; (5) Asks for a stoppage of excessive use of veto and an early settlement of atomic energy control; (6) Demands free access by all to raw materials; (7) Asks assurance from both US and USSR regarding intentions; (8) Demands a constructive competition between capitalism and communism; (9) The century of peace must come. (124:48)

May 17, Moscow. Stalin reply to Wallace declares that his letter could serve as the basis for the working out of a peace program. (125:48)

May 18, Washington. US rejects bilateral negotiations on basis suggested by Stalin, and declared that any settlement of problems must be made within the UN. (126:48)

May 19, Washington. US State Department issued an official statement outlining US position regarding eleven main issues cited by Stalin as bases for discussion with the US to promote world peace (127:48)

May 26, Washington. Secretary Marshall in a letter to the US Senate's Foreign Relations Committee charged the USSR with 37 violations of treaties concerning Germany, Austria, the former nazi satellites and the Far East. (127a:48)

USMG ACCUSES CZECHS AND USSR

May 4, Berlin. In its semi-monthly report USMG stated that border violations had been committed by Russian and Czech soldiers along US occupation zone frontiers in Germany. (128:48)

US-POLISH DISPUTE OVER CORRESPONDENTS

May 7, Warsaw. Polish Government expressed displeasure over items appearing in US Information Service bulletins not confined to American domestic affairs and warned that Poles found with bulletins containing what Polish Government judges to be anti-Polish or anti-USSR items would be prosecuted for possessing illegal literature. (129:48)

May 10, Warsaw. Polish Foreign Office complained over length of time taken to grant re-entry visas to Gregory Jaszunski and Mieczyslaw Wiaczek, Polish correspondent accredited to UN, and stated that unless re-entry visas were reecived within a reasonable time, the Polish Government will "reconsider its attitude toward American correspondents." (129a:48)

Note: Re-entry visas were granted on May 28.

AGREEMENT BETWEEN SPAIN AND ALLIED CONTROL COMMISSION

May 8, Madrid. 1. Agreement provides for Spanish expropriation of German property valued at approximately 600,000,000 pesetas (approximately $80,000,000) for liquidation of Allied reparations and Spanish claims on German property in Spain, in accordance with Article I of the Bretton Woods agreement to break up the German economic war potential.

2. Coincidentally Spain will establish complete commercial relations with Western Germany, including an exchange of consulates. (130:48)

COSTA RICA BREAKS TIES WITH DOMINICAN REPUBLIC

May 9, San Jose. Foreign Minister Benjamin Odio of Costa Rica declared: "We do not desire that this Government give us diplomatic recognition as we do not consider it conforms to the democratic principles of liberty and of right that must rule in the countries of America." (131:48)

10 NATIONS SIGN AMAZON AGREEMENTS

May 10, Iquitos. Two agreements to form the International Institute of the Amazon Forest for the purpose of harnessing the riches of the Amazon Basin were signed by Bolivia, Brazil, Colombia, Ecuador, Peru, Venezuela, France, Britain, the Netherlands and the US. The institute is being sponsored by UNESCO. (132:48)

BRITISH TRADE PACT WITH US ZONE

May 12, Hoechst. 1. Germany to export textiles, leather, chemicals, dyes and varnishes, iron manufactures, machinery, steel scrap and finished products.

2. Britain to export newsprint, cotton, raw and scrap rubber, rags and waste, miners' clothing, tanning and consumer's goods. (133:48)

KOREA POWER SHUT-OFF

May 12, Seoul. Note from Gen. John R. Hodge, US commander requested an immediate conference regarding the threatened shut-off of power to the American Zone in Korea. This was the sixth such note to the Soviet Commander. (134:48)

Note: The Russians stated that they have turned the matter over to the North Koreans. Power was shut off on May 14.

EUROPEAN COKE AGREEMENT

May 12, Geneva. Fifteen European countries and US extend agreement to permit special coke allocation which will increase yearly European steel output by 1,500,000 tions. (135:48)

FORMATION OF ISRAEL

May 14, Tel Aviv. Declaration of independence of new Jewish state of Israel. (136:48)

Note: New state was recognized by US on May 14 and by USSR on May 17. Diplomatic exchange with USSR established on May 26. Guatemala, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, Nicaragua, Uruguay, Union of South Africa and Hungary have also recognized Israel.

ANGLO-SPANISH TRADE PACT

May 14, Madrid. One year agreement calling for an exchange volume of 1,700,000,000 pesetas (approximately $190,000,000) each way. (137:48)

Note: The 1947 British-Spanish monetary agreement to remain in effect.

ARGENTINA SUSPENDS HARD CURRENCY PAYMENTS

May 17, Buenos Aires. The Central Bank of Argentina has notified all other banks that they may no longer remit dollars, Swiss francs and Swedish kroners for imports. (138:48)

POLISH PROTEST TO EGYPT

May 18, Warsaw. Protested that Polish officer was wounded when bomb fell near Polish steamer *Levant* anchored at Tel Aviv. (139:48)

US-SOVIET EXCHANGES IN GERMANY

May 19, Berlin. USMG temporarily banned the flow of Russian-authorized newspapers, books, magazines, posters and other publications and their sale, distribution and display in the US zone of Germany. The USSR had formerly limited US-licensed newspapers in the Soviet Zone. (140:48)

May 20, Frankfort-on-Main. US zone border closed to Russian personnel wishing to travel directly between the Soviet zone and various Soviet military missions in Frankfort. (141:48)

May 21, Berlin. US rejects Soviet reque for talks on rail transportation problems Germany. (142:48)

May 24, Berlin. USMG charged Soviet m itary administration with kidnaping G mans and forcing them to operate uraniu mines in Soviet zone. (143:48)

AUSTRIA PROTESTS OCCUPATIO

May 20, Vienna. Note sent by Prime Mi ister Figl to occupation authorities d clared: "The continued occupation of Au tria is based on grounds that are neith legal nor in the interest of Austria, nor accord with the promotion of peace (144:48)

US-LEBANESE NOTE EXCHANGE

May 21, Washington. US protests remov of 41 US citizens from US steamsh *Marine Carp* at Beirut by Lebanese, an demanded their immediate release. (145:48

May 22, Beirut. Lebanese reply that th 41 US citizens were removed because "w are convinced that these people are e route to Palestine to bear arms again our people." The Lebanese rejected U demand that they be released uncond tionally but offered to permit them to r turn to the US. (1-46:48)

May 28, Washington. Second protest file by US. US announced that it would assi 41 to return to US, but that it still had case against Lebanese, and that Lebanes action was viewed as "in disregard of th established principles of international la relating to the rights and duties of a stat with respect to aliens." (147:48)

BRITISH-BRAZIL TRADE PACT

May 21, Rio de Janeiro. In an exchange o more than $400,000,000 worth of goods

1. Britain will sell coal, petroleum, i dustrial and agricultural machinery, rai way equipment, fine textiles, wool yarn an other products.

2. Brazil to sell rice, beef, coffee, orange cotton and minerals.

3. Brazilian frozen credits in Britai more than £60,000,000 (approx. $240,000 000) to be used to pay Brazilian foreig debt in Britain, and, if found advisable t pay for British-owned railways. (148:48

US REJECTS USSR PROTEST

May 27, Washington. Rejected protests tha US aircraft in western Pacific fly low ove Soviet shipping and stated that US aircraf were on duty to watch out for smuggling into Japan in accordance with orders o General MacArthur who had charge of ad ministering such matters in that country and that they did not hazard the safety o any ship. (149:48)

US RELEASES SPANISH ASSETS

May 28, Washington. Seven-year-old freez against withdrawal of about $60,000,000 i Spanish owned assets lifted, and regulatio requiring licensing of money sent to Spai on current transactions rescinded. (150:48

POLISH-BULGARIAN TREATY

May 29, Warsaw. Twenty-year pact o friendship and mutual assistance. It als pledges to extend cultural and economi relations. (151:48)

How Not to Build Confidence

Among Businessmen

US FOREIGN ECONOMIC POLICY CONFUSES AND CONFOUNDS EUROPE

RENCH STEELWORKERS—THEY NEED HELP FOR A FEW YEARS

THE economic general staffs of Western Europe, whether in industry or government, are displaying dismay and apprehension.

Both feelings are caused by the recent behavior of the US Congress in moving to reduce European Recovery Program appropriations, and to limit the operations of the Reciprocal Trade Agreements. The first will force ERP nations to revise plans previously made on the basis of American commitments. The second portends a return toward economic nationalism only less worrisome to observers abroad.

One facet of this shift in policy particularly startles and baffles Western Europeans. It is the spectacle of the mightiest nation in world history seemingly in a fret to "protect" itself against the competitive challenge of impoverished and underdeveloped areas—an economic Gulliver frantic about what the Lilliputians may be going to do to him.

Yet the possibility that the rivalry between the Republican and Democratic parties will soon maul to death the One World precepts of US foreign economic policy remains a chief concern of Western Europeans. They are afraid that the relationship of the US to Western Europe, and to other areas, will become a political football. They are reasonably certain that, if this happens, their economic future will be booted around the international gridiron in a game that everybody but Russia will lose.

Achilles Heel of the Marshall Plan

EAST-WEST TRADE

'East-West trade,' as used in this article, does not mean trade between Orient and Occident but between Eastern Europe (USSR, Finland, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Rumania, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, Albania) and the 16 ERP nations, Western Germany and the US

BY HERBERT HARRIS
UN World Business Editor

FEW AMERICANS assume that the Marshall Plan may fail. But it can crash, resoundingly. And it will —unless five perils which threaten it are faced without blinkers and attacked with skill, energy and realism.

Every American businessman, whether he likes it or not, has a tremendous stake in the Marshall Plan. He must weigh the perils to it with logistical care and a juror's mind.

The five major pitfalls on the road to ERP success are: (1) cold-war tensions; (2) short-sighted nationalisms in Europe; (3) American reluctance to accept the full meaning of ERP; (4) overemphasis on US brand of free enterprise; (5) lack of a clear-cut positive policy on East-West Trade.

1. *Cold War Tensions.* If continued, US-USSR antagonism will pervert Marshall Plan aims of building a strong peacetime economy in all 16 ERP nations. Instead there will be an attempt to construct—from Spitzbergen to the Dardanelles—a defense bulwark, based on a war economy that would engross materials, money, manpower and machinery. This diversion could prevent the very recovery and rise in living standards that are the Marshall Plan's reason for being.

2. *Short-sighted Nationalisms in Europe.* There is disheartening evidence that the United Kingdom, France and Benelux and other ERP recipients still tend to place narrow national interests above broad common interests.

They are perpetuating the rivalries and frictions over formerly acquired trade positions in many ways that handicap the working out of their individual problems on a basis of mutual aid.

3. *American Reluctance to Accept the Full Meaning of ERP.* The American people and Congress do not sufficiently realize that (a) the Marshall Plan is not just a one-shot, one-session emergency measure for a transient need; (b) that it must mark a momentous break with America's historic isolationism; (c) that it is the start of "entangling alliances," economic, political, military and moral, on a conscious and cosmic and permanent scale.

4. *Overemphasis on US Brand of Free Enterprise.* Already there has been evident a lack of restraint in trying to sell the American free enterprise idea. Its too-ardent advocates insist that it is equally suited to all countries. They want it adopted even by those peoples who have voluntarily chosen to organize their own economy along lines of national planning which differ in varying degrees from free enterprise but which retain freedom of speech, assembly and conscience.

5. *Lack of a Clear-Cut Positive Policy on East-West Trade.* Contradiction and confusion surround the question of whether Eastern Europe should be deprived of goods from the West that could potentially become "implements of national defense" or aggression. East and West, in fact, are impaled on opposite horns of the same dilemma: if the West takes out "war insurance" and cancels East-West trade, it destroys something that, from the outset, has been a central assumption for Marshall Plan success; by the same token, if the East cancels this trade, it destroys a central assumption for Molotov Plan success in Russia and the satellite states.

At the moment, the last of these five perils is the first—the Achilles heel of the Marshall Plan. East-West trade is the most pressing problem, the most immediate stumbling block in the path of ERP fulfillment. While the other issues are crucial and call for creative statesmanship they are long-range in character, but all of them are first and inseparably bound up with this one.

The whole drive to see to it that exports to Eastern Europe, from the US and ERP nations, never become

"defense potentials" raises the ticklish and delicate point of definitions. In the total war of modern times, almost everything and everybody could be included in the category of "defense potentials."

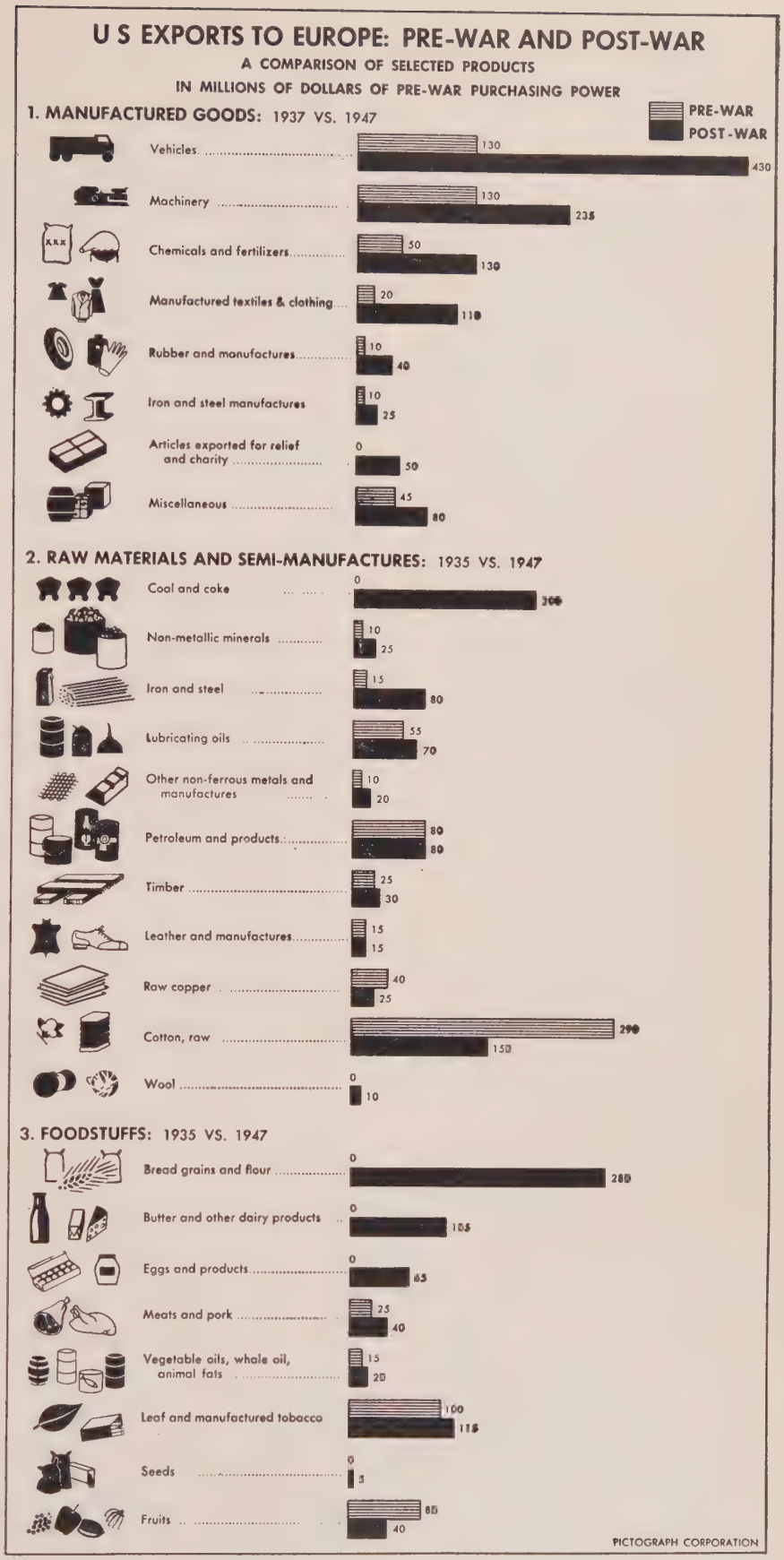
Automatic shovels can be used to dig coal to fire furnaces which in turn can be used to help produce steel girders for housing—or gun barrels for artillery. Assembly lines for tractors and tanks are virtually interchangeable. Equipment for making the first could be readily diverted to the second.

The Russians understand this as well as the Americans, and one can predict that they would retaliate in kind. If mining machinery is potentially military, so, too, are manganese, chrome and other minerals which the West is receiving from the East. To suspend just this fraction of East-West trade would seriously impair the American preparedness program of stockpiling these and other strategic materials.

It is too-often overlooked that the current concern in some American quarters lest "war goods" from the West be sold or resold to the East, is a denial of a basic ERP thesis. It runs counter to the thinking of the men who sponsored ERP in Paris and shaped it in Washington.

In the famous Paris "shopping-list" prepared by the CEEC (the 16 nation Committee on European Economic Co-operation) it was affirmed that: "A substantial and steady resumption of Eastern European food, feeding-stuffs, and timber supplies is assumed in this report." Typically, the Paris planners assumed that coal exports from Poland to Western Europe would rise from 16 million metric tons in 1948 to 30 million by 1951 while coal exports from the US to Western Europe would correspondingly dwindle from 41 million metric tons in 1948 to 6 million in 1951.

In the Harriman report which remains the Bible of the ECA, it was declared that to meet the target of 25 million tons of grain imports for Western Europe, the US will have to supply between 9 and 10 million tons a year, Argentina and Canada between 8 and 10 million, with the remainder of some 5 to 8 million tons to be furnished by the East—through "the anticipated reappearance of traditional exportable



US POWERHOUSE: In 1947 US shipments of machinery to Europe were up nearly 81 per cent over 1937. While in 1935 Europe imported no American coal and coke, or bread grains and flour, in 1947 it got $200 million of these. Under ERP, flow of such shipments will be sustained, although particular items will be adjusted to fit needs.

surpluses in the USSR and Eastern Europe."

In other words, the people who blueprinted the ERP and who are putting it into operation are convinced that East-West trade has to be restored to pre-war levels at least. That trade has traditionally been: from the East, cereals, timber and pulpwood, hides and furs, bauxite, copper, zinc, lead, chrome, manganese and other metals and ores; from the West, textiles, machinery, notably mining, construction and electrical equipment, alloys and chemicals, some solid and liquid fuel, radios, typewriters, cameras and other consumer items.

Figures on this trade, never assembled before UNW's researchers undertook the task, are extremely illuminating: At the moment, this trade, counting the USSR in the Eastern European bloc, and the US in the Western European bloc, amounts annually to very nearly $700,000,000 in annual exports from the East, and $1,250,000,000 in exports from the West. When the USSR and the US are omitted, this trade totals $465,000,000 from the East, and $625,000,000 from the West.

The exchange of Western Europe's manufactured goods for Eastern Europe's food and raw materials reflects the organic affinity of *all* European nations, their natural economic unity. This attraction, which transcends ideological cleavages, is very real. It is confirmed by the fact that almost 80 trade agreements between the nations of Eastern and Western Europe have been concluded since the end of World War II.

What now makes this trade doubly alluring to both the 16 ERP nations and Western Germany, on the one hand, and the Eastern European group on the other, is that it can be conducted without dollars. Trade pacts are being arranged on a basis of simple barter of Bulgarian wheat for Belgian woolens, of Swedish ball bearings for Yugoslav copper, of Polish coal for French-made busses.

If quasi-military diplomatic moves —whether initiated by the US or USSR—should shut off this East-West flow, the American taxpayer will be forced to take on far heavier burdens. In the first place, the US will have to make up to Western Europe its yearly losses of some ½ billion dollars in imports from Eastern Europe. In cases where the US itself could not furnish these commodities, it would have to extend sufficient credit to Western Europe to enable it to get them elsewhere. But this alternative contains as much theory as fact. An impressive list of such foodstuffs as wheat, and such ores as copper, manganese, chrome, now provided by the East are impossible, or difficult to obtain anywhere else. To be sure, manganese deposits along Africa's Gold Coast and in Chile could be further developed by the US and Western Europe but only after spending a lot of time and money, while diverting mining equipment and engineering talent from other tasks.

In the second place, the US will have to answer another equally significant question: if East-West trade is stopped, where can the 16 ERP nations and Western Germany dispose of a surplus 2/3 billion dollars in exports? This amount was absorbed in 1947 by an Eastern Europe which was eager to buy even more.

In short, it would be up to the US—if it could—to furnish the ERP nations and Western Germany yearly nearly ½ billion dollars worth of raw materials, some of them today non-existent or scarce in the West.

At the same time, it would have to purchase from Western Europe or find new markets for a billion and a quarter dollars worth of finished goods—the $625,000,000 sold in the East by Western Europe, plus an equal amount sold there by the US.

The misgivings displayed in the US about the renewal of the Reciprocal Trade Agreements, and the calm which has greeted the ITO, gives little promise that trade barriers will be soon lifted on those manufactures of Western Europe which are duplicated in the US. And other market areas, such as Latin America, lack the foreign exchange, to buy enough Western European exports to compensate for the disappearance of outlets in the East.

But the result of breaking off East-West trade cannot be measured by the casual arithmetic of adding another 1¼ billion dollars to Marshall Plan costs.

To cut off East-West trade would derange Western Europe's entire economy. Its people must have bread-grains, and its livestock fodder from the East. Without the East's coal, many factories throughout the ERP nations would have to shut down, curtail operations or scrape up their last few dollars for the more expensive US coal. Without the East's manganese and chrome, there would be no way to harden basic steel into alloys. And, without the ability to maintain and surpass present steel production, Western Europe could not completely recover.

Conversely, Eastern Europe's advance toward greater productivity would be impaired from the very moment it terminated its trade with Western Europe.

In the US, the ECA would have to revise drastically both its schedules and its working concepts and to ask Congress to raise its appropriations. A change so far-reaching carries hazards of its own. For the margin of US production earmarked to meet ERP commitments, when combined with $15 billion a year for national defense, has already placed a strain on such critical shortage sectors as steel, building up inflationary pressures. If additional demands are placed on the US economy both shortages and inflation would be intensified to a dangerous degree.

Meanwhile, the transactions of East-West trade itself are being changed by (1) the 2, 3, and 5-year plans of nations oriented toward the USSR and (2) by attempts of the US oriented nations to produce more food and timber at home. But both these tendencies are in the nature of "futures." Certainly for the next five showdown years, the ERP, unless revised from top to bottom, must still count on the continuation of this East-West trade.

The planning of nations in the Eastern zone is pointed less toward self-sufficiency than toward close trade relations not only among themselves and the USSR but also with the West as well.

On its side, Western Europe displays eagerness and even a kind of anxiety to re-establish and cement its economic bonds with Eastern Europe as outlet for exports from its reviving industries. Here Western Europe is taking the initiative. Last month a Danish delegation was working out new trade arrangements with the

Soviet Minister of Foreign Trade, Anastasi Mikoyan. In June also Britain's President of the Board of Trade, Harold Wilson, proposed to the Soviet government that negotiations be opened looking toward a long term trade agreement. Moreover, the United Kingdom already has a sizeable trade agreement with Poland; France and Switzerland with Czechoslovakia; Western Germany with Yugoslavia.

Inevitably, in carrying out so momentous a project as the Marshall Plan, some secondary discords are bound to arise. Recently, for example, France refused to buy an additional 90,000 tons of coal offered by Poland because Warsaw insisted that payment be made in scarce industrial equipment and in dollars. Meantime, France continues to get its original quota of Polish coal under terms of a trade agreement signed last year.

This difficulty, forerunner of many more, is rooted in the uneven distribution of commodities and hard currencies which are wanted, to a greater or less extent, by every nation engaged in East-West trade. France prefers to keep as much machinery as she can for her own purposes, and to keep her dollars to strengthen her financial status, or to spend in the United States. But Poland also wants both some of that machinery and some of those dollars.

The present pattern of trade between Eastern and Western Europe offers a startling contrast to that which prevailed before World War II. In the last pre-war year, 1938, Germany and Austria together took 38 per cent of the exports from the eight Eastern European countries outside the USSR, and supplied 34 per cent of their imports.

Although the USSR has increased its trade with the rest of Eastern Europe from 1 per cent in 1938 to 20 and even 30 per cent in such cases as Czechoslovakia and Poland, the Soviet Union is in no position to take over the role formerly played by Germany at least before completion of its own current 5-year plan.

It cannot now spare from its own store the industrial wares previously supplied by Germany. To be sure, the USSR—to promote economic integration of Eastern Europe—has provided its neighbors with some key industrial equipment such as turbines for hydro-electric power. On the whole however, it is trying to acquire for itself from the rest of Eastern Europe both manufactured goods and heavy industrial machinery. Since other regions of Eastern Europe with the exception of Czechoslovakia are in acute need of the very things the USSR wants, the latter would be gratified if it could obtain them from the West.

This hardly signifies that the Soviet Union is not seeking to tie into her own economy all eight members of the Eastern European bloc. But to attain this, she has to depend at least for the time being on ideo-

EUROPEAN FARMING AND LIVESTOCK PICTURE

Pre-war, Present and Planned

Base 1934/38 = 100

	Chiefly Food Importing Countries: Austria, Belgium, Czechoslovakia, France, Greece, Iceland, Italy, Luxembourg, Norway, Sweden, Switzerland, United Kingdom, Germany's Three Western Zones			Chiefly Food Exporting Countries: Denmark, Hungary, Ireland, Netherlands, Poland, Portugal, Turkey, Yugoslavia			European Countries (excluding USSR, Albania, Finland, Bulgaria, Rumania)			USSR	
	Actual		Planned	Actual		Planned	Actual		Planned	Actual	Planned
	1934/38	46/47	1950/51	34/38	46/47	50/51	34/38	46/47	50/51	1938	1950
Production:											
Bread grains: Percentages	100	79	96	100	65	97	100	73	96	100	107
Coarse grains: Percentages	100	83	100	100	78	106	100	81	103		
Potatoes: Percentages	100	82	110	100	62	95	100	73	103		
Raw sugar: Percentages	100	93	117	100	66	129	100	84	121	100	95
Meat: Percentages	100	65	85	100	44	93	100	60	87	100	114
Milk: Percentages	100	74	97	100	58	89	100	69	95		
Livestock:											
Cattle: Percentages	100	96	103	100	82	100	100	91	101	100	103
Horses: Percentages	100	84	79	100	79	94	100	82	86		
Pigs: Percentages	100	66	89	100	49	120	100	59	101	100	102
Sheep: Percentages ...	100	81	88	100	98	127	100	89	106	100	119

Basic data from UN Economic Commission for Europe

STARVATION TABLE. Wartime is always a time of hunger. Whether East or West, industrialized or agricultural, the nations of Europe went hungry as a result of World War II. Agricultural output in the food-importing countries fell an average of 20.3 between 1934-38 and 1946-47; in food-exporting countries, it fell 38 per cent. Livestock production stands up because farm animals can survive with a minimum of care, while much labor is required to plow, cultivate and harvest grains.

logical and political and military ties rather than primarily on new economic links.

When the USSR emerged as mentor and controlling force for the rest of Eastern Europe that area acquired a new economic mould marked by three distinct characteristics.

1. *Land reforms.* Large estates have been broken up into plots and strips for the peasantry. But the very small acreage of these new farmsteads makes them inefficient. It is virtually impossible to use modern large-scale methods on small holdings, whether in plowing, sowing or harvesting.

Communist leadership in Eastern Europe is being careful not to repeat the synthetic and "premature" methods invoked by the USSR to force through its policy of farm collectivization in 1930. To avoid similar resistance to the Kolkhoz (collective farm), it is enrolling the peasants into buying and selling co-operatives and establishing tractor, harvester and reaper stations to serve as "educational" preliminaries to collectivization sometime in the future.

2. *Nationalization of industry,* with some differences in degree, of all large and medium-sized enterprise together with portions of retail trade.

3. *State monopoly of foreign trade.* It is no longer possible to do business with these countries except through the medium of state purchasing commissions and bureaus and boards.

The West also reflects the world trend toward national planning, but with sharp variations in scope. In France, for example under the 5-year Monnet Plan, banks, railroads, electric light and power facilities, coal mines, maritime shipping, armaments and air travel have been added to the postoffice, telephone and telegraph, match and tobacco monopolies already owned by the state. But, the intense individualism of the French farmer is not being disturbed by government intervention except to supply him with seed and to fix his prices at other than those he could command on a free market.

In the United Kingdom, coal mines, railroads, electric light and power plants, the Bank of England and commercial aviation have all been nationalized. Iron and steel are presumably next on the list. The great bulk of British business, however, such as textiles, cutlery, arms-making, chemicals, shipping, and most financial institutions remain in private hands. In agriculture, stringent government fiats regulate the quality and quantity of crops from greens to fodder.

Elsewhere throughout Western Europe, from Sweden to Italy, new configurations of economic life further reflect emphasis on national planning as an instrument designed to manage current scarcities as well as to increase internal prosperity and external trade.

In the US also certain new partial forms of national planning are emerging. A licensing system to screen off, segregate and embargo industrial goods having military potentials has been invoked, for example, by the Departments of State, Commerce and Defense, acting in concert. Under this system, shipments of machinery destined for Eastern Europe have been held in warehouses pending clarification of US policy on East-West trade.

At the moment, Europe's drive to push output above that of prewar days is being impeded in both East and West for three main reasons:

1. *Poor transportation.* Railbeds and rolling stock are worn out, needing replacement or repair. Highways are often broken and full of holes. Trucks and automobiles are scarce and largely senile. Europe's most vital inland waterway, the Danube, on which barges once carried many million tons of goods, is not being fully used. The riparian nations (Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Yugoslavia, Austria, Bulgaria and Rumania), as well as the USSR and the ERP group and the US, have failed to arrive at a *modus vivendi* in the form of mutually satisfactory navigation agreements.

Last month Secretary Marshall suggested to the USSR that a conference be held in Belgrade, to discuss reconciliation of divergent views on rights of way, port rules, and other questions of traffic along the Danube. Mr. Marshall's proposal, which may not be divorced from certain diplomatic gambits, portends a favorable American attitude toward the resumption of East-We trade on this famous river. If t Danube problem is solved it cou pave the way to a similar concor releasing the movement of freig over the network of canals that li the Rhine with the Elbe and t Oder, and thus remove the ext hardships now being imposed other types of haulage.

2. *Lack of manpower.* In the Ea this takes the form of inadequate skilled personnel to design and rect ambitious programs of indu trialization. Engineers, plant ma agers, technicians and foremen we methodically exterminated by t Nazis during the 1939-45 period. part of their plan for a New Orde they wanted to reduce occupi areas to the status of a coloni hinterland on which they wou settle their own supermen who wou serve as the executive and technic élite, as overseers of a population slaves. In the West, France, Belgiu the Netherlands and the Unit Kingdom suffer from shortages manual labor for work in the p at the wharf, in the foundry, a on the land.

3. *Manipulation of money.* Va ous European currencies have be overvalued, especially in relation the dollar. All too frequently, so nations deliberately set their rates exchange at quite unreal levels bo to reduce internal prices and g more for their money on import While this policy enabled them offset overhigh prices for food a grain from the outside, it was ca ried out at the expense of keepi exports down, since foreign buye refused their merchandise.

As a result these nations fou that they were compelled to adju their export prices downward in der to gain a favorable competiti position in world markets. This e plains in part why Italy devaluat the lira, and France the franc. It however, too early to assess the fects of these measures on their i ternational trade.

The total impact of all these velopments has inspired the U Economic Commission for Euro to warn that "intra-European tra is lagging seriously behind Europe recovery, in general; that a lar part of this contraction is in t goods previously sold to, or suppli by, Germany . . . *that the decline*

trade within Europe is one of the chief reasons for Europe's extraordinary post-war requirements from overseas; and that one of the preconditions for the cure of Europe's acute external disequilibrium is the restoration of intra-European trade." (Italics mine, H.H.)

Of course, an appreciable segment of intra-European trade is made up of East-West exchanges—to such an extent that, no matter where the starting point, one is forced to come back to the question of East-West trade as an inescapable integer in ERP's equation.

It is obvious that, to restore intra-European trade in general, and East-West trade in particular, European production must be stepped up.

The chief bottleneck is steel, a lack as critical today as was the coal shortage 18 months ago. It should be realized, however, that this deficiency in steel arises from vastly enlarged requirements rather than from any fall in output. Performance to March 1 this year indicates that steel will hit 38½ million tons by the end of 1948. Even so, steel supply will be 5 million tons under the original 1948 target of 43½ million on which Europe's plans to modernize industry and agriculture are based.

The problem of East-West trade, while basically economic, does not exist in a political vacuum. It cannot be separated from what happens to US-USSR relations. It cannot be isolated from the magnetic pull these two colossi exert upon other peoples —particularly that of the US on the ERP alignment and the USSR on the other nations of Eastern Europe. One school of thought contends that the problem can best be solved if the economic approach is put first. It contends that if East-West trade is encouraged and developed, this very process will tend to foster a rapprochement between the two giant antagonists, and thus allay the present crisis in world affairs.

The opposite school puts the political approach first. It contends that the fate of East-West trade, as well as that of the whole European economy, depends upon the ability of the US and USSR to compose their differences, ideological, diplomatic and strategic.

Either approach leaves unaltered a stubborn and irreducible fact. It is simply that the success of the Marshall Plan, as now set up, is founded upon a continued flow of East-West trade.

The American businessman, like every other member of the international community, to greater or less degree, has to make a sober choice. He has to decide whether or not be is justified in taking a "calculated risk" in the venture called European Economic Recovery.

On the one hand, he may resign himself reluctantly to the idea that global frictions will persist and degenerate into armed conflict. He would then have to agree that East-West trade be suspended at once as a source of war-making strength for a potential foe. He would have to concede that the Marshall Plan would have to become a more costly undertaking, and would drain America of more credits and commodities than it can well spare. He would have to support a war economy at home, a war economy in Western Europe, and live with the prospects of modern total war within his lifetime.

On the other hand, he can accept the ERP, in all of its implications, including East-West trade as a vital part. He could then anticipate new markets in all Europe for his products and new outlets in all the Marshall Plan countries for his capital investment. These would be the rewards of ERP success in a world where growing economic strength and social stability foster the climate of peace.

EUROPEAN INDUSTRIAL PRODUCTION: Pre-War, Present, and Planned

Base 1938 = 100

	Europe Including USSR & Germany's Western Zones		Europe Excluding USSR & Germany's 3 Western Zones			USSR		Germany's Three Western Zones		
	Actual Production	Planned Production	Actual Production		Planned Production	Actual Production	Planned Production	Actual Production		Planned Production
	1933 or 1940	1950 or 1951	1938	1947	1951	1940	1950	1938	1947	1951
Coal and lignite (ton for ton):										
Million tons Percentages	100	118	100	91	117	100	151	100	63	95
Electric Power:										
Thousands of million kwk. Percentages	100	179	100	146	200	100	170	100	82	120
Pig Iron:										
Million tons Percentages	100	125	100	99	174	100	130	100	16	61
Crude Steel (ingots and casings):										
Million tons Percentages	100	126 122	100	106	163 154	100	139	100	18	61
Finished Steel:										
Million tons Percentages	100	123	100	105	159	100	137	100	17	62

Basic data from UN Economic Commission for Europe

STEEL SINEWS. Steel electricity and coal are the three keystones in the long bridge of European economic recovery. Steel comes first, but the production of pigiron and both crude and finished steel depends on hydro-electric energy and coal. Consequently, the demand for American and Swedish turbines and for Polish, English and Ruhr coal are, in 1948, the highest on record. An interesting aspect of this table is the disclosure that production goals for Russia and the Western are similar.

THE SECOND OF A SERIES OF WORLD COMMODITY REPORT
BY THE EDITORS OF UNITED NATIONS WORLD

The Unpredictable Commodity—

RUBBER

LIKE a weather-vane on a moun tain where squalls are sudde and fitful, the price of rubber ha restlessly fluctuated since the cen tury's turn.

In 1910 when world productio was 94 million tons, it was $3.05 pound.

In 1926 when production ha risen to 735 million tons it was $1.2 a pound.

In 1932 when production was vi tually the same as in 1926 the pri of rubber declined to 2⅝ cents pound.

It was the great unpredictabl among world commodities. It wa always running "amok." It wa always getting out of hand, and go ing to extremes. If the price of tire fell 20 per cent in Seattle, the pric of rubber fell 30 per cent in Singa pore. It was infinitely more sensitiv to boom and slump everywhere an anywhere than oil or coal or eve wheat. This was especially true i the United States which from 191 forward has used from 50 to 60 pe cent of the world's rubber. It tendency toward price gyration caused nightmares, duodenal ulce and hyper-tension among plante

PRODUCING NATURAL LATE

IN CEYLON, in a forest of hevea trees, Singalese rubber farmer slices a shallo spiral groove down the bole of a tree release and direct the flow of sap. Th scar of an old cut crisscrosses the ne The man's only tools are a sharp knife, short spigot and a small cup.

In 38 years its price has ranged from $3.05 a pound to 2 5/8 cents, varying with the popularity of war, automobiles and pocket combs—It occurs in the wild form, the domesticated and the synthetic, and the US can make enough of the last to double the world's total production by day after tomorrow.

and processor alike. It consistently defied attempts of private cartels and of governments, and of both together, to stabilize prices in a way to satisfy all concerned.

In 1939 the world's supply of rubber, except for Germany where IG Farbindustrie had already perfected *Buna*, or ersatz, rubber for the *Wehrmacht*, consisted almost exclusively of the natural variety. This comes from the hevea tree. When tapped, it weeps a milky sap, latex, that is smoked and rolled into sheets. Latex is converted into everything from combs to cartires and from Hollywood "cobwebs" to conveyor-belts—or any of 37,000 products. It is almost literally true that our civilization, in war or peace, moves on rubber.

In 1939 an unknown number of hevea trees grew wild in jungles of Southeast Asia, South America, Siam and Africa. Another 9 million acres were cultivated in plantations. Carefully tended as fine orchards, these ranged in size from 100 to 10,000 acres, employing 475,000 local labor. Another 400,000 rubber producers were small "independents" who raised hevea in their own tiny plots, or gathered its "tears" in jungle stands they had marked out for themselves. From this combination of estate agriculture and small local growers and gatherers, the world got almost all prewar rubber: 51.9 per cent from British Malaya; 33.1 from Dutch Indonesia; 6.6 from French Indo-China; 4.7 from Siam; and 3.7 from Brazil and Liberia.

From 1919 to 1934 especially a confluence of three forces created chaos in the prices the world paid for rubber from all these sources.

1. Fierce competition for world markets between the British, who controlled Malaya and 75 per cent of the globe's rubber trade, and the Dutch, who controlled Indonesia and only 16 per cent of that trade but who were determined to get more of it.

2. Feverish speculation in rubber futures on the part of dealers from Ceylon to Sweden.

3. A constant intimate interconnection, a reciprocal reaction, between the price of natural rubber and the demand for its end products, particularly tires for passenger cars, trucks, busses, planes.

In 1919, for example, the profits of British plantations were around 32 cents on the dollar, and ginslings were toasts to prosperity at bar and on veranda.

In the US, largest outlet for Malaya's rubber, such firms as Goodyear and Goodrich were turning out tires at a terrific rate, anticipating in advance a boom year in 1920 for new cars each equipped with five new tires.

Then the sharp recession of 1920-21 descended swiftly. Car sales dipped alarmingly. Car owners patched and repatched worn-out treads to save money on replacements. Manufacturers who had built up vast stocks of tires they couldn't get rid of shut down plants. In Akron, Ohio, US tire-making capital, 55,000 workers were laid off. Makers, wholesalers and retailers indulged in a price-slashing orgy to reduce swollen inventories.

Manufacturers canceled orders for natural rubber. Planters—expecting a two to three years boom—had accumulated huge reserves which they were tempted to dispose of for anything they could get. The gin-sling became the cup of sorrow. For a time the British Planters Association protested that to sell at less than the current 30 cents a pound would spell ruin. They beseeched Parliament to help them.

His Majesty's Ambassador at the Hague sought to persuade the Dutch finance minister to join the Board of Trade in London in a scheme to regulate world rubber prices and supply. But the Dutch said they weren't having any.

While British prices were held high and firm by means of a gentlemen's agreement (among British gentlemen only), the Dutch cut prices again and again from 30 cents to 25 to 15 to 10. French and Siamese growers cautiously followed suit. In the US and in Europe, tire-makers—even though often hard-pressed for ready cash—could not resist the prospect of natural rubber at such low prices.

By 1922, when the British in desperation had lowered their prices to 10 to 12 cents a pound, the Dutch had enlarged their share from 16 to 33 per cent. The British share had dwindled from 75 to 52 per cent, 17 per cent going to the Dutch and the other 6 per cent being divided equally between the French and Siamese.

To avoid repetition of such price wars, which worked to lessen everybody's plantation profits, the British government in 1934 inspired a world rubber cartel. It was formed to regulate production, export and prices of rubber.

Known as the International Rubber Agreement, it was signed by Britain, The Netherlands, France and Siam. A Committee of four delegates appointed by the participating governments administered this pact. Its main feature called for a quota to be imposed every four months on the amount of rubber that could be shipped.

Spokesmen for American and European manufacturers sat in on Committee conferences as consultants and advisers. They were kibitzers, respected but impotent. They had a voice, but no vote. The Committee set the quotas.

Under this system, the average export of rubber was around 71 per cent of its potential from 1934 to 1940. In order to fix prices, and thus ensure stability, the Committee consistently held down production. It achieved a precarious sliding-scale stability in the price of rubber, which varied during this period from 15 to 26 cents, but only at the expense of contrived scarcity.

Naturally, American manufacturers were not pleased by this arrangement. Part of their displeasure derived from the free competitive conditions in their own industry which had given them high returns on risk capital, inspired pioneering research, produced a superior product at a lower price.

But, aside from a preference for their own way of doing things, they were uneasy over a double-fact: (1) the commodity crucial to their operations came from far-distant places; (2) they were at the mercy of the Committee's decisions.

In their view, the quotas and prices set by the Committee were arbitrary in inspiration and unilateral in effect. They felt that, as buyers of 54 per cent of the rubber crops from areas covered by the Committee's agreement, they should have more influence on production and prices.

To offset the Committee's restrictions on production and control of prices, some American manufacturers went into rubber growing on their own. The United States Rubber Company acquired sufficient hevea holdings in Southeast Asia to meet 21 per cent of its natural rubber needs. Similarly, Goodyear grew 16 per cent of its natural rubber supplies. Firestone developed plantations in Liberia which was outside the jurisdiction of the Committee's quota system. Altogether, however, American controlled sources of natural rubber never totaled 6 per cent of the country's requirements.

It was not until the spring of 1940 when Britain and France had been at war with Germany for six months, and Holland was facing invasion momentarily, that the Committee consented to permit planters to grow and ship as much rubber as they could. After some debate, it also permitted them to take steps to expand production by putting down new hevea plants (which require seven years of growth before they yield raw rubber).

This boon was short-lived. Nazi armies swarmed over Europe. The US, producing great quantities of war matériel for the Allies and for its own defense, used up current supplies and rubber stockpiles, and faced a severe rubber shortage. When the Japanese struck at Pearl Harbor American reserves stood at 533,000 tons. Minimum military and civilian needs were 700,000,000 tons a year. Fifteen months later Singapore surrendered, and the Japanese were in control of 93.5 per cent of the world's rubber sources.

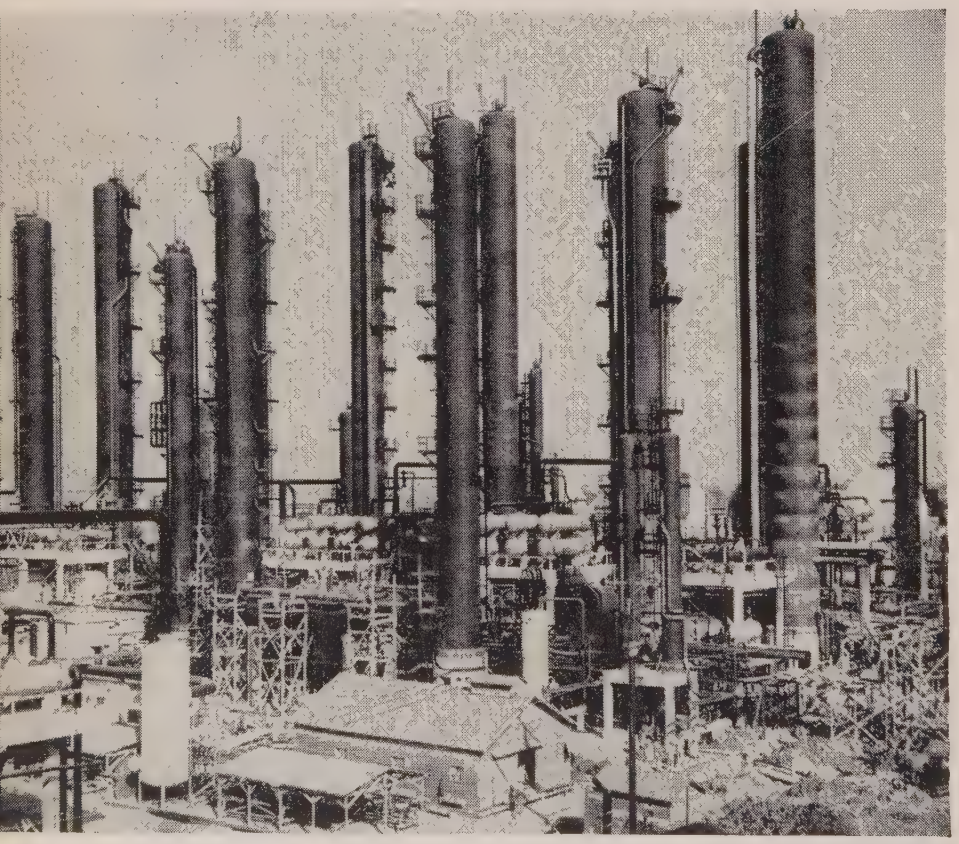
These were the conditions of crisis which spurred US technicians to "pass the miracle" which—only incidentally—has introduced the first portents of lasting stability in world rubber prices.

When the Japanese overran all Southeast Asia, a substitute for raw rubber had to be found—at once. It had to be a chemical which would be serviceable, practical, versatile.

In the US on December 7, 1941, chemical rubber was being produced at the rate of only 8,000 tons a year in a few privately owned pilot and experimental plants. The problem was to increase this to at least 700,000 tons a year for an indefinite period. This goal was met and surpassed within three years after the US government had spent $700,000,000 to build the necessary gigantic chemical rubber industry.

Owned by the government, but operated by private concerns, this industry was capable of producing chemical rubber made from petroleum or coal, equal to natural rubber for many vital purposes. This would have ranked as the war's most tremendous single accomplish-

PRODUCING SYNTHETIC LATEX



IN TEXAS, a forest of towers—the tallest 17 stories high—rises above a chaos of spherical and cylindrical tanks. Here an army of chemists and technicians convert petroleum into latex curd from which Butadiene, chief ingredient of synthetic rubber, is made.

ment—scientific, technical, managerial and labor-wise—if it had not been overshadowed by the development of the atomic bomb.

When World War II ended, the US government found itself in the business of producing and selling chemical rubber while imports of natural rubber slowly rose. It also set the price of general-use chemical at 18½ cents a pound and that of special-use at 27 cents. It stipulated the proportions of chemical and natural that a tire manufacturer might mix: a ratio of 68 per cent of the first to 32 per cent of the second. At first this recipe was generally followed, but in 1947 and 1948 gradually was enriched until a 60-40 proportion became common for medium grade and 50-50 for premium tires.

In 1946, one year after V-J day, the US was consuming 1,100,000 tons of rubber, 85 per cent chemical and 15 per cent natural.

During that year, natural rubber exports were immensely below prewar levels as a result of the Japanese occupation. In Malaya, however, the plantations not too much injured by conquest, or by wasteful Japanese tapping, began swinging back toward high production.

But in Indonesia, the Japanese had hacked down thousands of acres of hevea to clear the ground for growing food. Moreover, the postwar drive of the Indonesians to achieve national independence, and their warfare with the Dutch over this issue, hampered output and exports alike.

Behind these events was one transcendent consideration: the US government, under wartime pressures, had doubled world rubber capacity. Inevitably this meant that a national rubber policy, which inevitably would have international implications, had to be formulated and put into law. The result is the Rubber Act of 1948.

Like most legislation, it is a compromise of urgent, and often opposite, views.

The Armed Services, alert for national security, wanted to be triply sure that the US would never again in any future conflict find itself short of so vital a war matériel as rubber. They therefore insisted on a stockpiling program for natural rubber plus stand-by facilities for chemical rubber that would be ample and technologically advanced.

The tire industry, on the whole, wanted the government to relax its control over the production of chemical rubber. It wanted to transfer the government-owned plants, by sale or lease, to private hands as quickly as consonant with the national security. (At the moment, while the government holds legal title to the $700,000,000 group of chemical rubber facilities, they are run by private concerns under contract with the Reconstruction Finance Corporation.)

The tire industry was also eager to make sure that sufficient synthetic rubber capacity be at all times maintained. This could serve as a hedge against revival of efforts on the part of the British, Dutch, French and Siamese to put the squeeze on US rubber processors, either through reactivating their pre-war cartel, now dormant, or by other methods. A special worry of US manufacturers is that these Far Eastern producers can still furnish natural rubber at less than the price of the chemical.

Cheaper Rubber Forecast

Authorities in London have estimated that by January, 1949, improved techniques of cultivation in Malaya may make it possible to deliver natural rubber, COD, Port of New York Authority, at 6½ to 7 cents a pound as against the 12½ cents it costs to make chemical rubber in the US. Furthermore, natural rubber at the moment costs 3½ cents less a pound to process into a tire.

This has particular point for a public increasingly disenchanted with tires largely made of chemical rubber. Some manufacturers are, in fact, tempted to turn again to an all natural rubber tire.

The fact is that while chemical rubber is superior to natural for many uses, it does tend to frictionize faster under higher speeds and heavier loads. Drivers accustomed to getting from 30,000 to 35,000 miles on a tire complained bitterly through 1947 of blow-outs after 30,000 to 35,000 miles while hitting 50 mph. Recently, this defect has been largely cured by substituting rayon and even nylon "rope" in tire carcases, and by widening treads. Commercial airlines, however, together with operators of heavy-truck fleets and busses, insist on natural rubber.

The Rubber Act of 1948, effective April 1 this year, sought to balance and fuse the aims of both military and industrial groups, and also to safeguard the interests of the ultimate consumer. The Act guarantees that the US government will maintain in first-rate shape chemical rubber plants capable of producing 600 thousand tons a year for general purposes such as ordinary tires, and 75 thousand tons a year for special products — for instance the self-sealing sacs which protect gas tanks of bombers against flak. Stockpiling of natural rubber is to be vigorously pushed. So is government research in chemical rubber. The President will allocate and specify and generally supervise the production, use and price of chemical rubber. His decisions will be determined by raw rubber supply, research progress and the temperature of the cold war.

Finally, the Act recommends that government-built facilities for chemical rubber pass completely into private hands in the shortest possible time. In this it reflects the dominant belief in both US government and business circles that the progress of chemical rubber, whether in laboratory or afield, can be best served by harnessing it to the incentives and initiative of free competitive enterprise.

The three major questions at the moment are: (1) how much rubber, natural and chemical, will the US and the rest of the world get in 1948? (2) Which type will be preferred. (3) At what price.

The global supply of rubber today is in almost perfect balance with demand, which is moving toward a 1948 peak of 1,745,000 tons, (1,391,000 natural, and 344,000 chemical). Users are: US, 968,000 tons; USSR, 225,000 (estimated); UK, 210,000; France, 102,000; Canada, 53,000; Australia, 24,000; Italy, 28,000; Belgium, 17,000; Czechoslovakia, 16,000; Netherlands, 12,000; Denmark, 4,000; Hungary, 3,000; others, 83,000.

Only slight expansion is possible without reconditioning of facilities. Though the hevea regions have recovered from war ravages, they can provide only up to 1,400,000 tons. The American chemical rubber plants now active can turn out enough more to total only 400,000 tons a year.

Both natural at 22¾ cents and chemical rubber at 18½ are very much in demand, with the former fa-

vored. But if the pace of industrial development should slacken, the world might witness a price war between the two, since cheaper rubber would be sought to reduce expenditures. This may occur though the market remains firm—or even if it gets better.

For US chemists and other technicians are predicting a typical American development. Experiments now being concluded show, they say, that the output of chemical rubber can be almost limitlessly enlarged at descending unit costs and that chemical rubbers as good, or better, than natural can be produced at a price of 10 cents a pound or less within the next year or 18 months.

If producers of natural rubber are compelled to compete at around this price with the chemical variety, the ensuing battle would return the price of rubber to its traditional stormy weather vane role. To avoid calamity, a world commodity agreement for rubber, along the lines proposed by the FAO for wheat (see UN World, June, 1948) may well be in the cards. For a price war between chemical and natural rubber would too violently disrupt today's prospects for prosperity and stability in the world economy.

WORLD CONSUMPTION OF RUBBER, NATURAL AND SYNTHETIC, FOR 1948 and 1949

estimated
(in thousands of long tons)

	1948 Natural	1948 Synthetic	1948 Total	1949 Total
U.S.A.	576	392	968	917
U.K.	205	5	210	225
France	93	9	102	117
Netherlands	12	—	12	14
Belgium	*	*	17	17
Czechoslovakia	*	*	16	16
Italy	*	*	28	30
Denmark	*	*	4	4
Hungary	*	*	3	3
Australia	*	*	24	25
Canada	33	20	53	49
Other Countries	*	*	308	330
			1,745	1,747

* Synthetic consumption not given separately, total synthetic consumption for all countries so indicated estimated at around 7,000 tons.

Source: International Rubber Study Group.

Case History For Business

HOW SMALL PRESSURE GROUPS UPSET A MAJOR ECONOMIC POLICY OF THE US

THE US Congress has removed the hull from the Hull program of Reciprocal Trade Agreements. In extending this program for one year instead of three, and surrounding it with restrictions, Congress last month reversed the trend of America's foreign economic policy. Consistently since 1934—and sporadically before—that policy has been moving toward freer trade with the rest of the world.

In foreshortening the RTA, Congress apparently overlooked the fact that this action nullified a vital part of the Economic Co-operation Act (Marshall Plan). Section 115 of that Act requires all nations participating in ERP to conclude export-import agreements with each other to insure, among other things, continuous collaboration to "reduce barriers to trade among themselves and with other countries."

This means that Congress intended that the same sort of agreement should also be reached with the US.

The RTA, as it functioned up until June, 1948, was the only effective method available under US statutes for achieving this result. By placing restraints on reciprocal trade, then, the Congress has damaged the only instrumentality that could carry out commitments Congress itself had written into the ECA last April.

From a standpoint of sheer mechanics this decision raises some interesting points. A trade agreement takes the better part of a year to prepare and negotiate, another year to test its workings, and a third to correct its maladjustments. This time factor was the reason why Congress originally selected a three-year period for reciprocal trade pacts. Under the present dispensation, another country may devote the greater part of a year to arranging a trade agreement with the US, only to discover that the US may not have legal authority to execute the contracts it ha entered into.

This discrepancy between the EC and RTA legislation can be explaine in part by the lobbying of sever pressure groups. They afford an e lightening case history in how d termined minority interests can p through measures which may not b in the interests of the majority.

The fight against RTA extensio was mainly led by the woolen an cotton branches of the textile indu try (which employs 4.5 per cent American workers) part of glass an all of pottery (.8 per cent) and th growers of citrus fruits and nu (6½ per cent of all farms). Togethe they represent a small fraction US industrial and agricultural acti ity. But they are well-establishe dominating domestic markets fo their respective products. They a have substantial export outlets. The are all extraordinarily opulent.

Though textiles presents the mo spectacular illustration, what applie there holds true for the others i greater or less degree.

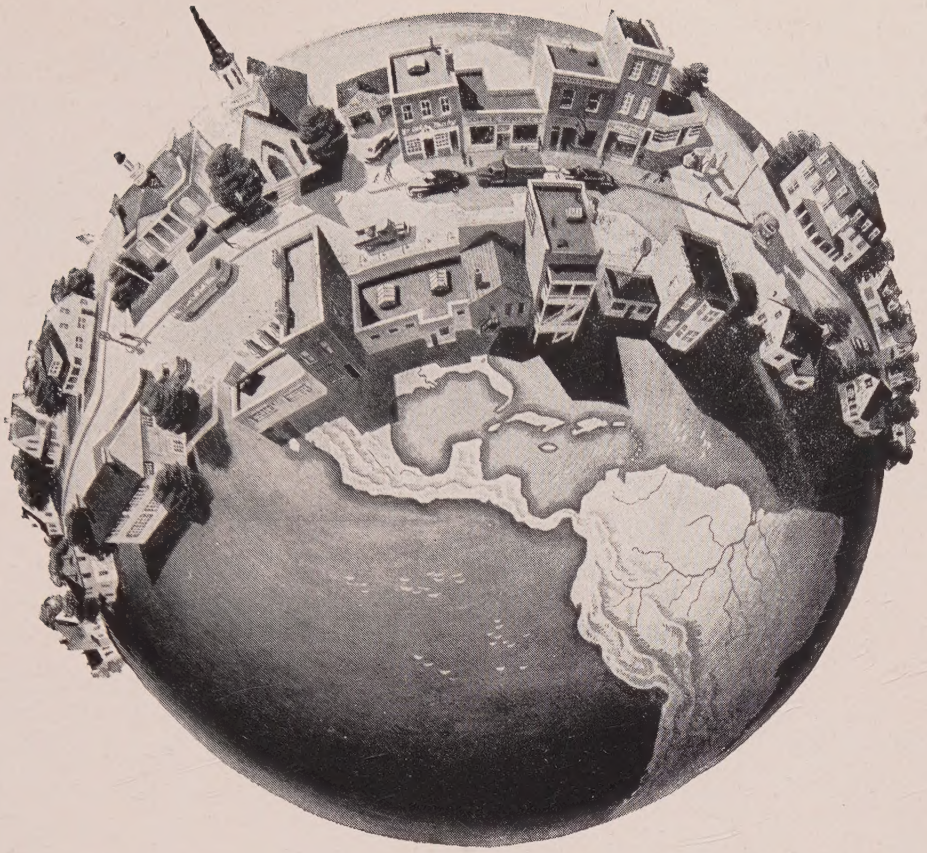
Textiles today is the most profi able industry in the United States, n matter what economic callipers ar used—present profits as compare with past profits or return on capit invested.

Before taxes the profits of the te tile industry hit the $2 billion mar in 1947. This sum was equal to th total amount earned by the industr from 1929 to 1942. Moreover, it 1947 profits were 33 per cent highe than those of 1946, 148 per cen higher than its wartime averag (1941-5) and 1442 per cent highe than average for the pre-war year (1935-9).

Before taxes, textile profits in 194 represented 47.6 per cent of the ne worth of all textile concerns. Afte taxes, profits were still 28 per cen of net worth, as against the 14.3 pe cent earned by America's 100 larges corporations.

The opposition to the RTA wa particularly sparked by the textil woolens sector. Under the RTA, thi part of the industry exported $3 million worth of fabrics in 194 while the US imported only $9½ million, a ratio of nearly 4 to 1.

If nothing more, this case histor demonstrates that a reason for cu tailing RTA is more likely to b found in the psychology of fear tha in the realities of world economics



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● Main Street stretches around the world!

Now it's only 36 hours by air to any spot on the globe. The avenues of trade have grown shorter.

Sometimes we forget that. Sometimes we forget how much World Trade means to all the Main Streets in America.

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In fact, part of every dollar they earn (and *you* earn) comes from World Trade.

You know that Main Street is prosperous when the baker has extra money so he can buy from the butcher, who in turn has extra money to spend at the garage and grocery and the local theater. Those people, in their turn, have more money to spend at the bakery and other places.

That's the way it is with World Trade, too. When we buy tea, China has money to buy things we want to sell. When we buy perfumes, the French can buy farm equipment from us.

So World Trade isn't just a mysterious something-or-other. It's Main Street trading on a bigger scale.

It helps everybody. We ought to do all we can to make it prosper, because we build our own prosperity by doing it. If we want more prosperity, we want more World Trade.

Remember, Main Street is a two-way street; if we want to sell, we have to buy.

Part of Every Dollar You Get Comes From World Trade!

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FOR U. N. WORLD READERS ABOUT

A PRACTICAL PROGRAM OF action for World Progress

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Westinghouse was first to take action to solve the problem. Seven years ago conferences were started in a dozen countries with designers of airports, airlines and aircraft, and with civil aeronautic officials. At our laboratories, Westinghouse engineers carried on, analyzing hundreds of products made by manufacturers of everything from luggage scales to control tower windows. Even our own electrical products were re-designed . . . and an entirely new technique in airport construction was born.

Today, Westinghouse can provide fully developed plans, materials and equipment for complete airports adaptable to any locality. *For the first time any city anywhere can order from a single company, in a single low-cost unit, everything needed to build a modern, safe airport.* All the city need supply is the land. And already, from Lima to Ankara, Westinghouse equipped airports are helping city after city to bring in scheduled air service.

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